

GREEN ANARCHIST

No. 49/50 AUTUMN '97 £1
FREE TO PRISONERS

For the destruction of Civilisation

WHICH WAY FOR DIRECT ACTION? GANDALF SHOW TRIAL. RICHARD HEINBERG ON CIVILISATION. REGGIE LEWIS ON HIS FRAME-UP IN PHILLY. STEVE BOOTH ON *LOVE IS NOT ENOUGH*. BOB BLACK ON BILL BENBOW.



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an ALF mob.

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Only four days later, a dozen activists descended on 14 Denmark Avenue, London SW19 (0181 946 1264), the home of Richard Slater, director of Huntingdon Life Sciences. The ALF later flooded his home with a hosepipe. His company is in deep shit -- following Zoe Broughton's infiltration of the Huntingdon lab, its license has been suspended and the lab besieged by animal lib campers from 7th September 1997. The campers may face imminent eviction and are adopting Manchester Airport-style tactics to prevent this. To join the phone tree: 01582 505984 / 0860 245406.



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As a result of this resurgence of militancy within the animal lib movement and the offer of negotiations, Barry came off his hunger strike last Friday, 26th September 1997, just days before the point where it would have permanently wrecked his health. He's exposed Labour as liars prepared to have people die rather than fulfil their election promises and, by their deliberate silence, the mass media as complicit with Blair's image-not-substance politicking, the animal abusers and the guarantors of animal abuse in the secret police.

Letters of support to:

Barry Horne [VC2141], HMP Bristol, Cambridge Road, Horfield, Bristol BS8 8PS.

More information from:

Barry Horne Support Campaign, Box M, 111 Magdalen Road, Oxford OX4 1RQ (01954 230542 / 0976 200724).

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He'd found that McDonalds' did indeed abuse animals, exploit their workers and brainwash children into being mindless little con-sumers. Despite this, Bell ordered the defendants pay \$4,000 to McDonalds.

At the ensuing press conference, an exultant McLibel Two said they wouldn't pay a penny and rejoiced that they'd cost the mega-corporation £9m, plus wrecked their public image. A detailed analysis of the full text of the judgement showed Bell had conceded all their other points too in all but law. They now intend to take their fight on to Europe. Meanwhile, McSpotlight continues to provide the biggest uncensorable database on a multinational anywhere in the world.

Of course, justice is made in the streets, not the courts. The weekend after the judgment, thousands took to the streets and 100,000s of banned McDonalds fact sheets were handed out at over half the McDonalds eateries in UK. In Wybostyn, Bedfordshire, repeated

**QUO VADIS
TRAIL**

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Following the Animal Rights Militia's threat that "if Barry Horne dies, then five vivisectors will die", activists struck in Oxford on 19th August 1997, paintstripping notorious viv Colin Blakemore's car and attacking the property of four other local scientists. Motorway flyovers have been plastered with pro-Barry graffiti to bypass the media blackout.

Despite attempts to use the anti-stalking law to stifle protest, on 25th August 1997, 150 demon-strators descended on the last cat breeders for vivisection in UK, Hill Grove Farm,



Oxfordshire. They were met by as many cops with dogs, horses and helicopters and chemical warfare from farmer Brown. Unable to get at the cattery, they turned on Home secretary Jack Straw's residence, Rosery Cottage, Minster Lovell, Oxfordshire, only being driven off at 4.30am. Demonstrations will continue until Hill Grove closes.

Two days later, Labour Party HQ at Walworth Road, London SE17 was blockaded by 60 people for an hour -- no media coverage over this as everything else.

On 28th August 1997, three rats were

freed from Stockholm Uni, Sweden, in a daylight raid dedicated to Barry Horne. One activist was arrested. There were roof-top protests in Bristol on the same day.

There have also been demos at BIBRA (animal testing), Babraham ('Frankenstein Farm' - does genetix research) and Shamrock Farm (ebola monkey importers) that have led to substantial disruption -- roads blocked, labs barricaded &c. The 20th September 1997 demo at Wickham labs, Hampshire, dedicated to Barry Horne led to the home of its owner, William Cartmell, being smashed by

an ALF mob.

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QUO VADIS TRIAL

During Barry Horne's last hunger strike, five activists were arrested for trashing the sick death art in yuppy pseud Damien Hirst's Soho restaurant, Quo Vadis. All five arrestees strenuously deny the charges against them.

They'll be facing trial at Middlesex Guildhall, the court nearest Westminster Hall on 13th October 1997.

More info via:

PO Box 66, Stevenage SG1 2TR.

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For more information:

McLibel Supporters Campaign, 5 Caledonian Road, London.

MUTANTS TRASHED

Horrified locals uprooted genetically-engineered oilseed rape at Tibs Hall Farm, nr. Coventry on 6th August 1997.

MAY

14: REDDITCH -- Unlicensed homemade bullet found in HMP Blakenshurst
 14: HMP WINSON GREEN, BIRMINGHAM -- Algerian hunger striker released.

riot. Riots in ten other towns too.
 25: TEPOZONALCO, MEXICO -- Government troops ambushed.
 25: LONDON UNDERGROUND -- Fare dodging breaks all records!
 25: CARRY ON FIDDLING -- Black economy losing State £100bn a year in taxes and VAT. Ha, ha, ha!
 26: AUSTRALIA -- John Howard PM

their political inaction.
 31: PARIS -- Anti-Maastricht demo
 31: KARACHI, PAKISTAN -- One dead, 18 injured by bomb.

JUNE

1: USA -- Betty Shabazz, Malcolm

DIARY OF COMMUNITY RESISTANCE

We think that prior to general revolution, resentment increases, expressing itself in aimless and apparently random acts of destruction. Because of this, acts of community breakdown are also listed as well as clear acts of community resistance; both are harbingers of the coming collapse of authority and civilisation.

Send your cuttings to *Lancaster Bomber* c/o BCM 1715, London WC1N 3XX.

15: RATS FALL OUT -- Royal Opera in meltdown. Low morale after chief Jenny Mackintosh sacked. A third of staff to go as cultural flagship hits iceberg.
 15: CHAPELTOWN, LEEDS -- 150 riot. Cop injured with flying bricks and bottles.
 15: HIGH COURT -- Ghanaian taxi driver gets £6,000 after racist harassment by cops.
 16: CRUMPSALL -- 160 fire-fighters fail to save Abraham Moss school.
 16: CHANNEL TUNNEL -- French report claims November 1996 fire caused deliberately.
 17: HYDE PARK, LEEDS -- Police attacked and vehicles torched by rioters.
 17: PEAK DISTRICT -- Pay 'n' display car park machines destroyed after threats to park authority by unknown group.
 17: HUNTINGDON, CAMBRIDGESHIRE -- Snubbed at aborigine conference
 26: SIERRA LEONE -- Central bank torched in coup.
 28: PERU -- MRTA steel works bombed. 20 injured.
 29: HEYSHAM, LANCASHIRE -- Residents grudge meeting sets up vigilante group.
 29: DILI, EAST TIMOR -- 14 die in riots against fixed election.
 30: SCARBOROUGH -- Head teachers' conference unanimously X's widow, critical after arson attack
 2: TIRANA, ALBANIA -- Socialist cafe bombed.
 2: SOUTH LONDON -- Blair heckled over workfare war on single parents
 3: LEICESTERSHIRE -- Prisoner escapes from van on M1.
 3: SALFORD -- Unlicensed shots fired in Black Lion pub
 3: GRANADA, SPAIN -- Bomb defused
 3: BIRMINGHAM -- Yet another

5: NORWAY -- Gang HQ bombed in ongoing biker war
 5: MANCHESTER -- More protests over cop cover up following police blinding of Amir Afiq
 6: DUBLIN, EIRE -- Lorries block docks in French-style blockade.
 7: COPENHAGEN, NORWAY -- Drive-by shooting in biker war
 8: MORECOMBE, LANCASHIRE -- Four cops hurt in riot.
 9: TENBY -- Worried Residents At Tenby Harbour (WRATH) protests threat of outdoor concerts in council meeting
 9: FRANKFURT / BONN, GERMANY -- Dresdner Bank AGM disrupted to protest their financing Auschwitz in the Nazi era.
 9: HUYTON -- Massive local protests express outrage against pedophile
 9-10: PEPIGNAN, FRANCE -- Truckers block border crossing
 10: DINGWALL -- Skye Bridge toll nonpayment protests in court
 10: JAMMU, KASHMIR -- Rail bombs
 10: WHITEFIELD, BURY -- Unlicensed night sniper shoots 16 year old in rec while Blairjor proposes £150m compensation to diasrm legal handgun owners
 10: PARIS -- Demo for jobs
 10: ALBANIA -- OSCE election observer Brian Pridham resigns due to deteriorating security situation
 11: EBBW VALE -- Residents protest planned aluminium car component factory on former garden festival site
 11: NEWCASTLE -- Unlicensed knife siege
 12: EIGG, SCOTLAND -- Residents buy their island, ending a millenium of feudalism
 12: PORTLAND, DORSET -- Prison hulk evacuated in fire alert
 14: NORTHWICH -- Unston Hall, the house of fat cat utility boss Sir Desmond Pitcher, torched. DRYDEN PRIZE NOMINATION
 14-16: AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND -- 60,000 unemployment protestors fight riot cops. Central bank stormed, cop cars overturned, Euro flags burned, fascists trashed, 18,000 bikes clog city streets.
 15: PUNJAB, INDIA -- Ten cons and one guard shot in prison break-out.
 15: BUDAPEST, HUNGARY -- Alliance of Free Democrats HQ bombed
 15: ROSTOK, GERMANY -- Two fascists injured by Turkish self-defence group
 16: CLAPTON -- Unlicensed car shooting
 16: TERATOVO, MOSCOW, RUSSIA -- Football executive shot
 18: KARACHI, PAKISTAN -- MQM shoot journo
 18: ACAS -- 1m working days 1st to strikes, 100,000 disputes in 1996, up 10%
 18: CORNWALL / SCOTLAND -- Fisherfolk protest EU sellout
 19: McLIBEL -- Crap whitewash verdict on ecocidal, genocidal, carcinogenic, exploitative, animal absing turd vendor chain
 19: HAREHILLS, LEEDS -- Riot
 19: LONDON -- Labour MP Gordon McKenzie beaten up outside house. Ha, ha, ha!
 19: USA -- Shares drop as Baptists boycott Disney.
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 21: BLACKHEATH, LONDON -- 1497 commemoration march arrives from Cornwall.
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ONE LESS ROYAL PARASITE

COMMUNITY RESISTANCE

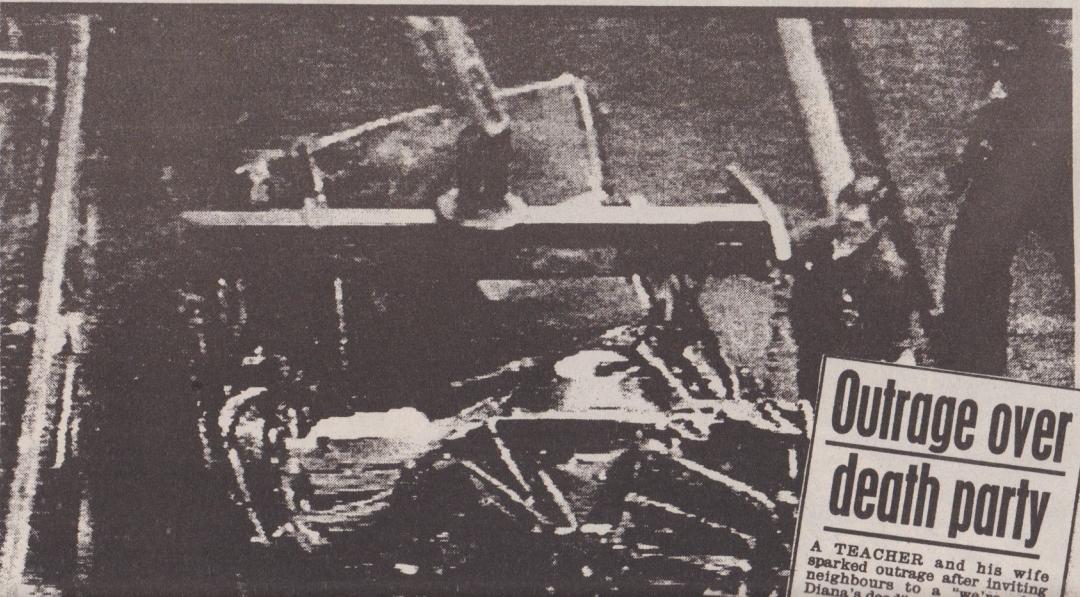
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- 19: MOUNTAINASH -- Residents grudge meeting over cancer-causing pollution from closed down coking plant.
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- 20: SCHOOLS -- Unions pan Blunkett for naming failing schools.
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**Outrage over
death party**

A TEACHER and his wife
sparked outrage after inviting
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- 22: LIVERPOOL -- Rally against sorting office closures
- 23: SPRINGFIELD, DUMFRIES -- Cop savaged by pit bull terrier
- 24: LONDON -- Calls for fresh inquiry into Stephen Lawrence killing
- 24: GORBALS, GLASGOW -- 12 hour hostage siege
- 25: BELO HORIZONTE, BRAZIL -- One shot in strike riot
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20: WIGAN, LANCASHIRE -- Rugby league fans with attitude protest against sale of ground.

21: BURNLEY, LANCASHIRE -- Protests against JSA outside job centre.

22-23: CAMPSFIELD, OXFORD-SHIRE - Algerians hold rooftop protest against imprisonment of asylum seeker.

22: HMP GATESIDE -- 60 prisoners riot. Screw injured.

23: HOBART, AUSTRALIA -- Aborigine centre bombed.

23: CORNWALL -- March to London celebrates 1497 Pitchfork Uprising.

23: CORSICA -- Bank and telephone exchange bombed by separatists.

24: BRAINTREE, ESSEX -- Three arrested at riot in childrens home. Cops attacked by fire extinguishers, bleach and TV set!

24: CORFU, GREECE -- Albanian pirates attack holidaymakers.

25: BANJARMASIN, INDONESIA -- 150 die in shopping centre fire during

vigilante group

29: DILI, EAST TIMOR -- 14 die in riots against fixed election.

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27: BRISTOL -- Double standard as man jailed for macing cop. Shame it wasn't nerve gas.

27: SCANDANAVIA -- Governments discuss panic measures over biker war

27: MOSCOW, RUSSIA -- 5 dead, 11 injured by Chechen suicide train bomb

28: FRANCE -- Unions protest Jospin's closure of Renault factory despite election promises. They should know such promises are worth fuck all.

29: FIERE, ALBANIA -- Electoral official shot dead.

29: GLASTONBURY, SOMERSET -- Man hospitalised climbing fence to evade £75 entrance fee.

30: HONG KONG -- Protests as Butchers of Tienamen move in.

30: BRISTOL -- Reporting prohibitions as secret state trial ends

30: BAMBER BRIDGE -- Residents' grudge meeting against asphalt plant.

30: PONTYPRIDD -- Protests at fire station closures

ONE LESS ROYAL PARASITE



Outrage over death party

A TEACHER and his wife sparked outrage after inviting neighbours to a "we're glad Diana's dead" party.

Wictor and Anya Bohdanowicz put up bunting in their home and played loud music during the princess's funeral.

They complained to cops when the bunting was pulled down.

Days later a notice appeared in the window of their home at Walton-at-Stone, Herts, saying they would not rehang the ribbons because Mother Teresa had died.

THE MIRROR, Saturday, September 20, 1997, Page 9

oppose Blunkett's appointment of Woodhead as schools inspectorate.

30: MANTES LA JOLIE, FRANCE -- Le Pen stoned by crowd during election canvassing

31: SOUTH KOREA -- Students riot against government.

31: EAST TIMOR -- Rebels kill 17 cops

31: LONDON -- Liberty meeting picketed by Gandalf defendants over

Cadbury's strike

4: TIANAMEN SQUARE, BEIJING, CHINA -- 8th anniversary of massacre. Protests outside Chinese embassies worldwide

4: CARDIFF -- Protestant extremists protest at St Mary's church pilgrims

5: SKYE BRIDGE, SCOTLAND -- Tolls protest

5: DURNES, ALBANIA -- Bomb thrown at president

12: SOUTHERN RAILWAYS -- 30% of trains cancelled by overtime ban

13: DONCASTER -- 40 firefighters battle blaze at Hatfield High School

13: SANTANDA, FRANCE -- Pigs use rubber bullets against Val de Loire ferry protest

14: PERU -- 4 dead in Shining Path ambush

14: DOUGLAS, ISLE OF MAN -- Three prisoners escape

PAGE 3 TREE



COR, WOT A CORKER! Curvaceous Cork Oak,
106, from Pressmenen Woods, Scotland, can't

factory torched. £200,000 damage.

15: MIAMI, FLORIDA, USA -- Fashion designer Vesace shot dead on Ocean Drive. Princess Di "devastated". Ha, ha, ha!

16: HALEWOOD -- Looters jam rail signals, stopping Ford car trains to liberate stereos and tyres from megacorp

16: PARIS -- Eiffel Tower closed by strike

16: LONDON -- BTAGM disrupted by protests against US merger

17: MIAMI, FLORIDA, USA: Gays protest lack of warning over Versace serial killer

17: BANJA LUKA, BOSNIA -- Black Hand attack UN base

17: TOKATI, TURKEY -- Leftist guerrillas car bomb government ministry

18: BRIGHTON / DARTFORD / BLACKHEATH -- 400+ unlicensed guns seized in cop clampdown

18: MOSS SIDE, HULME, MANCHESTER -- Community forum breaks off relations with police over racism

18: LONG ISLAND, USA -- Anniversary of TWA 800, 'not' downed by US Navy missile.

19: RIVINGTON PIKE -- Lottery scraps theme park wheeze after residents protest

19: SEAFORTH DOCVKS, LIVERPOOL -- MDHC exec Ken Wharton's car sprayed with acid

20: BRITISH COLUMBIA, CANADA -- Fisherfolk blockade port protesting Alaskan fishing

20: BAMAKO, MALI -- Protestsd and arson against fixed election

21: EVERTON, LIVERPOOL -- Two hit in unlicensed shooting at Valley pub

22: TIRANA, ALBANIA -- Cafe bomb blast in government quarter

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23: LONDON -- Nationwide building society thwart privatisation carpetbaggers

24: LONDON -- Railtrack AGM disrupted by Save Our Railways over tardy crash compensation

8: MILAN, ITALY -- Albanian shot dead in hospital.

8: LEOMINSTER -- Cop CS gas used against childrens' home. And they wonder why kids torch schools...

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12: JAMAICA -- Grande Hotel strike. 700 holidaymakers affected.

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14: SCARBOROUGH -- Journalist shot at but unfortunately not killed during armed siege.

14: PANAMA -- US embassy anti-US protest. Clinton burned in effigy.

15: LEWISHAM -- Unlicensed shooting, Hither Green Lane.

15: PAKISTAN -- Shootings at Mahammed Ali Jinnah tomb. Two dead, 20 injured.

15: NEW YORK / LONDON -- £22 billion stock market crash.

16: BURNLEY -- Picket of Magney kitchens over Darlington sackings

16: ROSKILDE -- Anti-fascists riot to stop fascist com,memoration over Rudolf Hess anniversary.

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17: PRESTON -- County Hall tap dancing protest

18: ST PETERSBURG, RUSSIA -- Privatisation boss Mikhail Manevich shot dead.

18: CHECHNYA -- Interior minister Nuri Bazirev shot dead.

19: PLYMOUTH -- Three boys cleared of £2.4m torching of Leigham junior school

19: USA -- Parcel strike ends after 15 days

19: HANDSWORTH, BIRMINGHAM -- 18 year old Joel Rubi executed in crack war

19: RUSHOLME -- Man shot in legs at Huntsman pub

20: MOMBASSA -- 37 now dead in state sponsored pre-election ethnic strife

20: MONSERRATT -- Angry crowd confronts governor over evacuation compensation stalling

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JULY

1: DELHI, INDIA -- Anti-China, pro-Tibet riot

1: WEST DERRY -- Unlicensed drive-

violence halts free festie.

7: NIAROBI, KENYA -- Seven die in riots for constitutional reform

8: HEATHROW -- 1,000s of British Airways workers report sick in advance

Ocean Drive. Princess Di "devastated". Ha, ha, ha!

16: HALEWOOD -- Looters jam rail signals, stopping Ford car trains to liberate stereos and tyres from mega-corp

16: PARIS -- Eiffel Tower closed by strike

16: LONDON -- BTAGM disrupted by protests against US merger

17: MIAMI, FLORIDA, USA: Gays protest lack of warning over Versace serial killer

17: BANJA LUKA, BOSNIA -- Black Hand attack UN base

17: TOKATI, TURKEY -- Leftist guerrillas car bomb government ministry

18: BRIGHTON / DARTFORD / BLACKHEATH -- 400+ unlicensed guns seized in cop clampdown

18: MOSS SIDE, HULME, MANCHESTER -- Community forum breaks off relations with police over racism

18: LONG ISLAND, USA -- Anniversary of TWA 800, 'not' downed by US Navy missile.

19: RIVINGTON PIKE -- Lottery scrapsd theme park wheeze after residents protest

19: SEAFORTH DOCVKS, LIVERPOOL -- MDHC exec Ken Wharton's car sprayed with acid

20: BRITISH COLUMBIA, CANADA -- Fisherfolk blockade port protesting Alaskan fishing

20: BAMAKO, MALI -- Protestsd and arson against fixed election

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PROVOCATIONS

Lacking the Mona Lisa's enigmatic smile, the blank expression of supermodel Kate Moss perfectly embodies the vacuity of late

KENT. Responding to the planned sacking of five teachers, 400 pupils rioted and wrecked their school. The headmaster, surveying the damage, reminisced their loyalty.



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- 1: WEST DERBY -- Unlicensed drive-by on Day One of legal handgun surrender period
- 1: HONG KONG -- Pro-democracy demo
- 2: STONEYHOLME -- Residents protest planned demolition of Rectory Road and Cavour Street
- 3: FRANCE -- Jospin in more trouble over Renault sell-out
- 3: HACKNEY, LONDON -- Nigerian asylum seekers can stay after three year sanctuary in church
- 4: SKYE BRIDGE -- Labour sells out on vague promise to abolish toll.
- 4: LUDLOW -- Grudge meeting against youth centre ends in chaos
- 5: LIVERPOOL -- Unlicensed drive-by sticks two fingers up to weapons amnesty
- 5: MANCHESTER -- Two plain clothes cops beaten up
- 5: LONDON -- 25,000 on Pride
- 5: KARACHI, PAKISTAN -- Electric crisis leads to demo
- 6: MOSCOW, RUSSIA -- Lefties try bombing Tsar statue
- 6: HUYTON -- People Power parents group demand change in pedophile law
- 7: COLUMBIA -- 24 soldiers die in drug war as Leftist guerrillas shoot down Mil 17 helicopter
- 7: PULP, ALBANIA -- Gunman opens fire on election with AK47. Three dead.
- 7: HEATON PARK -- Drunken
- 7: NIAROBI, KENYA -- Seven die in riots for constitutional reform
- 8: HEATHROW -- 1,000s of British Airways workers report sick in advance of big strike
- 9: TURKEY -- Three die in prison riots
- 9: PARIS -- Fire at law court
- 9: HONG KONG -- Protest at Chinese-imposed legislature
- 11: LIVERPOOL -- Firefighters lobby against cuts
- 11: SKYE BRIDGE -- Some nonpayment cases thrown out on legal point
- 11: BERLIN, GERMANY -- Love Parade street party goes ahead despite State / neo-Nazi threats
- 11: SPAIN -- Politician kidnapped by ERTA found shot. Anti-ETA riots follow. Moro replay?
- 11: MAHARASHTRA, INDIA -- 11 shot by cops in caste rioting.
- 13: SMALL HEATH, BIRMINGHAM -- Unlicensed Porsche 2000 night club shooting.
- 13: CUBA -- Two hotels blown up by CIA / anti-Castro Cubans
- 14: ZVORNIK, BOSNIA -- UN police HQ bombed in reprisal for SAS 'cowboy operation' against war criminals
- 14: NORTH ORMESBY -- Unlicensed drive-by
- 14: JAPAN -- Transport minister's house bombed
- 15: ALGERIA -- 21 dead, 40 injured by bomb
- 15: STOCPOR -- British trimming

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- 28: KUEDA, RUSSIA -- 11 killed in oil office bomb explosion
- 28: SLOUGH -- Unlicensed shooting
- 29: FIDDLES -- £1bn lost in housing benefit fraud
- 30: SOUTHAMPTON -- Pensioners protest Bargate shopping centre age discrimination
- 31: LIQUISA, EAST TIMOR -- Rebels kill three Indonesian troops in ambush

AUGUST

- 1: LIVERPOOL -- Irish centre rooftop continues six weeks on.
- 2: BOLTON -- HP Electrics warehouse gutted by mystery blaze
- 3: WARTON -- Anti-BAe Hawk protest at aircraft factory
- 3: BOOTLE -- Unlicensed drive-by
- 4: GLASGOW -- Ferry strike cuts off islands.
- 5: PRESTON -- Deepdale primary school torched.
- 6: BOLTON -- Dillon Hull, 5 year old boy, killed in drugs unlicensed shooting.
- 7: KIRKBY -- School computer store torched.
- 7: OLDHAM -- Cop run down with his own car.
- 8: KENYA -- 2 cops shot dead in national strike.

Rudolf Hess anniversary.

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The slogan of television channel UK Living -- 'TV with a mind of its own' -- announces the functional obsolescence of spectacular society ... or of life itself.

BUSHEY. Blinded by the promise of democratic voting rights, disabled people protested that the lack of an access ramp at a polling station left them handicapped.

Trained in techniques of subversion by leftist academics, ad agency executives have devised a slogan urging consumers of Ariel washing powder to 'Demand the Impeccable'.

LUTON STREET SCENE. With child strapped into a pushchair, a pregnant proletarian strolls along wearing a t-shirt bearing the feminist symbol and the slogan 'Together we can win'.

WATFORD. Ignoring resident's protests, Labour councillors unanimously gave planning permission for the construction of a five-storey office block to house the UK headquarters of the Disney Corporation.

LUTON. A union member justified tabling a motion asking management to renegotiate job redundancies by earnestly invoking the May 68 slogan: 'Be realistic: Demand the impossible'.

KENT. Responding to the planned sacking of five teachers, 400 pupils rioted and wrecked their school. The headmaster, surveying the damage, praised their loyalty.

Breaking the law by attacking police vans holding suspected law-breakers, proletarians affirm their blind faith in the law. Recognising its laxity, their actions invite further control.

Lord Irvine, state-appointed Lord Chancellor, stated that the Government is pledged to provide more protection from (State-defined) human rights abuses committed by ... the State.

Media reports of supermodel Naomi Campbell's rumoured barbiturate overdose neglected to mention audience overdose on a surfeit of images of capital's anorexic icons.

Branded 'Britain's most selfish mums', *The Sun* reports that two lesbian lovers are both to birth 'DIY babies'. In the accompanying photograph, both women sport Manchester United shirts.

The Christian Aid charity's slogan -- 'We believe in life before death' -- prompts Britons to finance third world attainment of our uniquely high quality of life.

British Telecom's advertising koan 'Work isn't working' flirts and teases with capital's death drive. Through technological seduction, it aims to defuse the radical demand: the abolition of work.

JUNE

SNOHOMISH, WASHINGTON, USA -- ALF free 80 mink from Brainard Fur Farm in broad daylight

SEPTEMBER

SHORELINE, WASHINGTON, USA - ALF glue meat store
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, USA -- ALF glue Ruddy's Meats.
NORTH SEATTLE, WASHING-TON, USA -- ALF smash butchers' door and display window

OCTOBER

SHORELINE, WASHINGTON, USA - ALF smash windows at meat store.

NOVEMBER

10: MERCER ISLAND, WASHINGTON, USA -- McDonalds install shatterproof glass after a carload of people stoned it.
16: CLEVELAND, OHIO, USA -- ALF brick and daub seven animal abuse outlets.
17: CHARLOTTE, NC -- Three fur outlets and four McDonalds sloganised by ALF
22: St LOUIS, MISSOURI, USA -- ALF sloganise Fur & Leather Centre and two fur-transporting trailers. Axle of one destroyed by acid. \$5,000 damage. Increased security costs: \$25,000.

23: CLEVELAND, OHIO, USA -- ALF sloganise Blue Ribbon Meats trucks and try torching them.
26: PACIFIC COAST, USA / CANADA -- Poultry Liberation Organisation (PLO) and Animal Avengers say they poisoned turkey carcasses in Albertsons, Safeways and Fred Meyers & c from Los Angeles at Vancouver, Canada.

Though breeders dose these friendly animals with drugs, vaccines, and antibiotics to help

with butyric acid: 15,000 DM damage. Two activists later arrested.

8: EUGENE, OREGON, USA -- ALF paint fur coats in Kaufmans: \$75,000 damage.

14: SNOHOMISH, WASHINGTON, USA -- ALF free 50 more minks from Brainard Fur Farm

15: OAK PARK, MICHIGAN, USA -- ALF daub, glue and sloganise El-Mars Furs

15: WEST BLOOMFIELD, MICHIGAN, USA -- ALF paintbomb fur store and kosher meat store.

19-20: MANNHEIM, GERMANY -- 22 geese due to become Xmas dinner liberated from farmer Richard Karl by Aktion Gewaltfrier Dezember ('Action

5: RICHARDSON, TEXAS, USA -- ALF daub, glue, brick Fur Centre

8: PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, USA -- ALF glue and spray-paint fur store; glue veal outlet.

9: WINTHROP, WASHINGTON, USA -- Outdoorsman hunting shop destroyed by fire and explosion, blowing moosehead into toy store over the road. ATF scum called in.

9: TOWSON, MARYLAND, USA -- ALF sloganise meat trucks

9: BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, USA -- ALF glue and sloganise meat store and trucks

10-13: DALLAS, TEXAS, USA -- ALF slash 100+ fur coats during Andrianna fur sale.

sloganise six meat packers and three animal abuse stores.

22: VIRGINIA BEACH, USA -- McDonalds spraypainted

25: HEREFORDSHIRE -- Eight beagles liberated from Consort during mas demo.

25-26: KARLSRUHE / STUTT-GART, GERMANY -- 23 hunting towers felled

26: DESMOINES, INDIANA, USA -- Paint Panthers brick and sloganise Cownie Furs and Furs By Manolidis.

26: NORTHERN BLACK FOREST, GERMANY -- 23 more hunting towers felled.

27: SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, USA -- Attempts to torch Producers Meats and Simpsons Milk billboard by North

ecologists, and that in the lab there is 'no torture on animals'. Some of the monkeys liberated were eventually recaptured, but many did manage to escape.

2-10: LANSING, MICHIGAN, USA -- Jacobsens department store (sells fur) bricked. Press admits such attacks have happened before.

4: PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, USA -- ALF etch and glue Ferber Furs

6: WEST BLOOMFIELD, MICHIGAN, USA -- ALF set Bricker-Tunis Furs on fire for selling Barbie fur outfit.

9: CHARLOTTE, NC, USA -- ALF spray anti-fur slogans

10: EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN, USA -- ALF brick Jacobsens Fur Store, \$9,000 damage.

13: VIRGINIA BEACH, USA -- Meat market and McDonalds sloganised, glued and daubed; milk billboards paintbombed.

16: BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, USA -- Furrier glued and sloganised; traps destroyed.

19: PETALUMA, CALIFORNIA, USA -- Bay Area ALF attack Rancho slaughterhouse, 1522 North Petaluma Boulevard, with fire:

We placed four incendiary devices in a double, semi-trailer truck used for live animal transportation. We used a total of five litres of flammable liquid, which we placed in the engine, the top of the cab and the connecting wheelbase. We had a direct link to the fuel tank. We confirm that there was the fire ignited through visual confirmation ... This is just the beginning of a war .. our war for your end has begun.

19: SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, USA -- Empty KFC, 250 W North Temple, torched. 23 firefighters fought blaze for 4+ hours.

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DIARY OF ANIMAL LIBERATION

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For further information: ALF Supporters Group, BM Box 1160, London WC1N 3XX; *Arkangel*, BM Box 9240, London WC1N 3XX; and *Liberator*, PO Box 80, Chichester, W Sussex PO 19 4GH.

Nonviolent December'), costing him 2,250 DM.

19: BIRMINGHAM, MICHIGAN, USA -- Ceresnie & Offen Furs glued and daubed by ALF. Store took two days to clean.

21: SEATTLE, WASHINGTON -- ALF sloganise two meat stores and six meat trucks.

21: TROY, MICHIGAN, USA -- Nordstrom fur store hit by ALF with butyric acid. The stench closed the store for the day and permeated the whole

11-12: NEW YORK CITY, USA -- Utah ALF.

Paint Panthers glue and sloganise Le Chien pet store as owner Lisa Gliford makes dog coats from wild cats; 75 fur wearers also daubed:

Thousands of foxes, rabbits, beavers, raccoons, sables, and monk were avenged this weekend. Fur wearers who continue to show a disgusting disrespect for animals beware.

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Though breeders dose these friendly animals with drugs, vaccines, and antibiotics to help keep them alive in unnatural conditions, rat poisons and weed killers are now being injected into the dead birds to let consumers know that eating a tortured and slaughtered animal is not just unhealthy but down-right deadly.

27: CHARLOTTE, NC, USA -- Five meat outlets glued and sloganised by ALF.

28: HINSDALE, MASSACHUSETTS, USA: Four arrested for breaking into Carmel Mink Ranch.

28: SUFFIELD TOWNSHIP, OHIO, USA -- Goodyear Hunting & Fishing Club sloganised.

28: HARTVILLE, OHIO, USA -- ALF brick butchers.

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23: CYBERSPACE -- Hackers trash Kriegsman fur ad. Check it out at <http://www.2600.com/fur_hacked/>

28: WASHINGTON, USA -- Millers Furs paintbombed by ALF.

28: INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA, USA -- Outdoorsman hunting shop bricked, torched, sloganised by ALF:

In the early morning Friday, February 28, the ALF hit a hunting shop on the far south side of Indianapolis. The Outdoorsman promotes the murder of innocent life through the sale of hunting and trapping equipment and by selling magazines and other literature advocating the torture of animals. Windows were broken, slogans were painted, and the interior of the shop was trashed.

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22: PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, USA -- ALF glues veal outlet.

23: STERLING HEIGHTS, MICHIGAN, USA -- Sana Furs, Lakeside Mall, closed for the Xmas shopping season by ALF butyric acid attack on their carpets.

26: EDEN PRARIE, MINNESOTA, USA -- ALF torch truck at the Haertel Corporation, 15151 Technology Drive, because they produce fur pelt cleaner. \$18,000 damage.

NEW YORK CITY, USA -- Alexandros Furs superglued and flyposted by ALF

JANUARY

1: ITHACA, NEW YORK, USA -- Cornell University's Petrolia

11-12: NEW YORK CITY, USA -- Utah ALF.

Paint Panthers glue and sloganise Le

Chien pet store as owner Lisa Gliford makes dog coats from wild cats; 75 fur wearers also daubed:

Thousands of foxes, rabbits, beavers, raccoons, sables, and monk were avenged this weekend. Fur wearers who continue to show a disgusting disrespect for animals beware.

11: WOODMERE, NEW YORK, USA -- ALF spray two furstores and punch hole in window.

11: CEDARHURST, NEW YORK, USA -- ALF punch hole in Fur Galleria window.

11: SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, USA -- ALF hit Ruddy's Meat and meat store for 3rd time.

11: BALLARD, WASHINGTON, USA -- ALF trash Butcher Shoppe and neon sign.

11: NORTH SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, USA -- ALF find upped security at previous target: "more \$\$\$ spent!"

12: WOODMERE, NEW YORK, USA -- ALF brick Alexandros Furs

13: NEW YORK CITY, USA -- ALF glue and sticker Alexandros Furs again; Adar Leather, Corn and B&N Furs sloganised.

14: FLEMINGTON, NEW JERSEY,

1: DETROIT, MICHIGAN, USA -- Cobo Hall fur sale scattered by ALF putting butyric acid in \$10,000 fur coat:

Security was so tight at this fur sale that women's handbags were being searched, pockets emptied and coats taken and hung behind the counter for the public to see.

and two fur-transporting trailers. Axle of one destroyed by acid. \$5,000 damage. Increased security costs: \$25,000.

23: CLEVELAND, OHIO, USA -- ALF sloganise Blue Ribbon Meats trucks and try torching them.

26: PACIFIC COAST, USA / CANADA -- Poultry Liberation Organisation (PLO) and Animal Avengers say they poisoned turkey carcasses in Albertsons, Safeways and Fred Meyers &c from Los Angeles at Vancouver, Canada.

Though breeders dose these friendly animals with drugs, vaccines, and antibiotics to help keep them alive in unnatural conditions, rat poisons and weed killers are now being injected into the dead birds to let consumers know that eating a tortured and slaughtered animal is not just unhealthy but down-right deadly.

27: CHARLOTTE, NC, USA -- Five meat outlets glued and sloganised by ALF.

28: HINSDALE, MASSACHUSETTS, USA: Four arrested for breaking into Carmel Mink Ranch.

28: SUFFIELD TOWNSHIP, OHIO, USA -- Goodyear Hunting & Fishing Club sloganised.

28: HARTVILLE, OHIO, USA -- ALF brick butchers.

30: CLEVELAND, OHIO, USA -- ALF torch one Ohio Farmers Inc (egg producers) truck and sloganise another; KFC smashed and small fire lit by ALF.

30: SOLON, OHIO, USA -- ALF smash and sloganise Boston Marke fast food outlet

30: AURORA, OHIO, USA -- ALF sloganise McDonalds

30: AKRON, OHIO, USA -- ALF smash and sloganise Dumas Meats truck.

30: ALSO IN OHIO, USA -- Sea World and pro-hunting signs sloganised by ALF.

DECEMBER

6: ITHACA, NEW YORK, USA -- Wendy's Burgers bricked, glued, sloganised by ALF.

8: HAMBERG, GERMANY -- Six leather, fur and angling shops sprayed

For further information: ALF Supporters Group, BM Box 1160, London WC1N 3XX; *Arkangel*, BM Box 9240, London WC1N 3XX; and *Liberator*, PO Box 80, Chichester, W Sussex PO 19 4GH.

Nonviolent December'), costing him 2,250 DM.

19: BIRMINGHAM, MICHIGAN, USA -- Ceresnie & Offen Furs glued and daubed by ALF. Store took two days to clean.

21: SEATTLE, WASHINGTON -- ALF sloganise two meat stores and six meat trucks.

21: TROY, MICHIGAN, USA -- Nordstrom fur store hit by ALF with butyric acid. The stench closed the store for the day and permeated the whole shopping mall. Furs not on sale the next day!

22: PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, USA -- ALF glues veal outlet.

23: STERLING HEIGHTS, MICHIGAN, USA -- Sana Furs, Lakeside Mall, closed for the Xmas shopping season by ALF butyric acid attack on their carpets.

26: EDEN PRARIE, MINNESOTA, USA -- ALF torch truck at the Haertel Corporation, 15151 Technology Drive, because they produce fur pelt cleaner. \$18,000 damage.

NEW YORK CITY, USA -- Alexandros Furs superglued and flyposted by ALF

JANUARY

1: ITHACA, NEW YORK, USA -- Cornell University's Poultry Research Station broken into by Band of Mercy, documents taken, chickens photographed. Major projects will have to be scrapped. Viv Fred Quimby (sic!) admitted:

The cost of this could run into the hundreds of thousands, maybe millions of dollars

1: DALLAS, TEXAS, USA -- ALF spray fur-trimmed coats in Oshmans Sporting Goods

3: BLOOMFIELD HILLS, MICHIGAN, USA -- ALF brick Dittrich Furs

3: WESTBURY, NEW YORK, USA -- ALF sloganise Fur Vault

5: DALLAS, TEXAS, USA -- ALF glue and paintbomb Bifano Furs and pour acid through letter box; four other fur stores trashed.

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14: FLEMINGTON, NEW JERSEY, USA -- ALF sloganise three billboards

15: NEW YORK, USA -- ALF hit four more stores, including Alexandros Furs. Anti-Madonna (fur wearer) grafitti.

15: CLOVERDALE, BRITISH COLUMBIA, CANADA -- Chicken abusers Wayside Farms barn torched.

16: WEST HANSTEAD, NEW JERSEY, USA -- ALF punch holes in Strathmore Furs window.

16: WOODMERE, NEW JERSEY, USA -- ALF smash Alexandros Furs front door window

16: OCEANSIDE, NEW YORK, USA -- ALF brick fur store and Burger King

18: BALDWIN, NEW YORK, USA -- ALF brick Metropolitan Argo Furs

18: WOODMERE, NEW YORK, USA -- ALF brick Laurette Couturier.

19: NEW YORK CITY, USA -- ALF

the top of the cab and the connecting wheelbase. We had a direct link to the fuel tank. We confirm that there was the fire ignited through visual confirmation ... This is just the beginning of a war .. our war for your end has begun.

19: SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, USA -- Empty KFC, 250 W North Temple, torched. 23 firefighters fought blaze for 4+ hours.

19: ROCHESTER, NEW YORK, USA -- ALF glue and sloganise Berman's fur store

21: VIRGINIA BEACH, VIRGINIA, USA -- Red Lobster restaurant, two Hardees and Steakhouse sloganised

23: CYBERSPACE -- Hackers trash Kriegsmar fur ad. Check it out at <http://www.2600.com/fur_hacked/>

28: WASHINGTON, USA -- Millers Furs paintbombed by ALF.

28: INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA, USA -- Outdoorsman hunting shop bricked, torched, sloganised by ALF:

In the early morning Friday, February 28, the ALF hit a hunting shop on the far south side of Indianapolis. The Outdoorsman promotes the murder of innocent life through the sale of hunting and trapping equipment and by selling magazines and other literature advocating the torture of animals. Windows were broken, slogans were painted, and the back of the wooden building was burned.

GUELPH, ONTARIO, CANADA -- Vase veal restaurant bricked

CINCINNATI, OHIO, USA -- Fettner Friedman Furs bricked; New York Fur & Leather bricked and sloganised; Katsatos Fur Store glued and bricked; junk food outlets sloganised and Burger King bogs damaged.

AKRON, OHIO, USA -- Goodyear Hunting & Fishing Club smashed, glued and sloganised; Honeybaked Hams glued.

NEW YORK CITY, USA -- 30+ fur coats trashed.

MARCH

1: WASHINGTON, USA -- ALF paintbomb Millers Furs



SWEDEN: DBF free 25 rabbits from viv breeder, 24th April 1997

5: WASHINGTON, USA -- Millers etched and dead deer left blocking doors.

5: VIRGINIA BEACH, VIRGINIA, USA -- Two milk billboards paintbombed again.

6: MURRIETA, CALIFORNIA, USA -- ALF torch Jack In A Box burger bar, causing \$80,000 damage:

[We] quickly searched it for any living creatures. When the building was found clear two incendiary devices were placed and set.

6: LAKE ELSINORE, CALIFORNIA, USA -- ALF fail to torch Douglas Burgers, nearly built

8: CLAYQUOT SOUND, ONTARIO, CANADA -- 50,000 salmon freed from Pacific National Group fish farm, Cypress Bay, costing them ~\$1.2m

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11: SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, USA -- ALF torch feed company buildings and four trucks in solidarity with Syracuse anti-fur hunger strikers, causing \$1m damage:

TO COMMIT JUSTICE AGAINST THE ABUSERS OF THE WORLD.

We demand the Nicole Rogers and Jeff Watkins be released from Prison NOW! If this is not done then more actions will follow. This time the flames will be seen!

ALF

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29: CAMBRIDGESHIRE -- 50 converge on hunt kennels and do over huntsmasters house, hound van &c.

29: RODERMARK, GERMANY -- Truck of Opelz Beetz fur store torched, 5,000 DM damage

29: ITHACA, NEW YORK, USA -- McDonalds eatery and office bricked; two Wendys' bricked and sloganised

30: MINSTER LOVELL, OXFORDSHIRE -- 30 descend on Hill Grove Farm, trashing it.

30: MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA,

use this as an opportunity to attack animal abuse, not the militants

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT -- Razors sent to Tory MEP Anne Mackintosh and another Tory candidate in the North.

MAY

18: CONSORT KENNELS, HEREFORDSHIRE -- Four injured in latest riot.

21: BLACKBURN, LANCASHIRE -- Hunter John Leyland of Gisburn prosecuted for horse neglect.

DEVON -- ELF spike trees to defend wildlife habitat. Bloodsport mags in Fourboys, Exeter, trashed. Fishing licence box glued and sloganised ("Ban Fishing -- ELF") at Roasdford Reservoir, Devon.

SAIN JEAN DE LUC, FRANCE -- McDonalds dynamited.

JUNE

1: RUITHIN -- Artificial insemination plant attacked

1: ROSSETT -- 12 arrested as shooting HQ attacked

ARM-NZ

An animal lib group claimsd to have contaminated Proctor & Gamble products with weedkiller.

[Source: New Zealand TV3]

10,000 FREED

ALF-USA has carried out the largest mmaal release in animal lib history. In June 1997, they released 10,000 mink from Rick Arriola's farm, Mount Angel, Oregon. With military precision, ALF cut through a fence, nonviolently silenced a guard dog and bypassed alarms to open the cages. A few mink have reportedly died after release but JP Goodwin from the Coalition to Abolish the Fur Trade said "Even if some of them died, at least they had as shot at freedom".

[Source: Time, 16/6/97]

1/20 GO VEGGY

Three million Britons are now vegetarian, up 20% from two years ago.

[Source: The Times, 20 May 1997]

HUNT SCUM

South West GA's report: A League Against Cruel Sports supporter visiting a friend in Throwleigh, Dartmoor, had their car window smashed because it had a LACS sticker. Their friend had to remove LACS stickers from their front window because of hunt intimidation, including them standing outside her window shaking fists at her.

FUR & FURY

In Amerika there are currently a number of anti-fur activists who've been imprisoned just for turning up at anti-fur protests. This led to activists going on high profile hunger strikes. Most famous was 16 year old Tony Wong (now freed).

In support of the hunger strikers, activists flooded their detention centres with calls, a phone blockade. Buildings have been stormed. An unnamed group firebombed buildings including the 2nd largest fur feed company in Sandy, Utah, causing \$1m damage; a Salt Lake City feed manufacturer also took \$1m damage; and a viv lab construction site at UC-Davis was also hit. ALF have also targeted other abusers in support of the activists.

More info on the US anti-fur prisoners from ALF SG, BCM 1160, London WC1N 3XX.

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At the start of 1997, 20 animal libbers broke into a fur farm in north Germany and freed three chinchillas.

HUNT ON HOLD

The Forestry Commission's suspended fox hunting on 2m acres of land. The Commission's in talks with the government about making this suspension permanent. Deer hunting is already suspended, causing New Forest Buckhounds to disband. The suspensions have been condemned by blood junkies and the National Farmers Union (spot the difference!).

[Source: Mail On Sunday, 3/8/97]

ANTI-HUNT DEMO

On 2nd August, 20,000 attended the National Anti-Hunt Campaign march in London. At the start, 100+ chased off a police photographer, shouting "scum" at him. Attempts to evacuate the photographer included a riot van



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In the early morning hours of March 11, we attacked the Agricultural Fur Breeders Co-op in Sandy, Utah ... firebombs were set in four trucks and the main offices.

12: SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, USA -- ALF Abraham Lincoln Faction sloganise and glue Burlington Coat Factory (fur).

12: MILLSTONE, NEW JERSEY, USA -- Jack's Prime Meats glued and spraypainted by ALF

12: HOWELL, NEW JERSEY, USA -- Sportsman shop glued and sloganised; ALF glue, spraypaint McDonalds, Burger King, KFC

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SLOGAN, PARIS 1968

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13: SOUTH WINDSOR, CONNECTICUT, USA -- ALF glue, brick and sloganise animal abuse shop and five trucks

13: NEW YORK CITY, USA -- Nine animal abuse shops hit.

15: WALBERTON, SUSSEX -- Sabs trash Chid hunt ball, causing £1,000s damage.

18: OGDEN, TEXAS, USA -- ALF douse trap suppliers Montgomery Furs in petrol but don't light it as watchman is inside.

22: ST LOIUS, MISSOURI, USA -- Hardee's sloganised and thinners spread:

WE DID NOT LIGHT THE THINNERS BECAUSE WE ARE SENDING A WARNING. WE ARE OUT HERE READY

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9: INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA, USA -- ALF paintstripper car of John Marcopolis, owner of Elan Furs.

9: DEBERRY, TEXAS, USA -- Ten chinchillas freed from Don Kelly's farm by ALF activists

24: WELLINGTON, NEW ZEALAND -- On World Day, 50 from Wellington Animal Action burnt vivs in effigy outside the Malaghan Institute, part of Wellington School of Medicene.

28: CLAVERDON, WARWICKSHIRE -- Spiers Haulage trucks (live exports) firebombed.

AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND -- ALF brick 12 different animal abusers and reformist Auckland Animal Action

prosecuted for horse neglect.

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JULY

10: HYDE PARK, LONDON -- 100,000 strong pro-hunt demo. 1m-strong anti-hunt petition handed in and sabs occupy tackle shops.

28: NEW FOREST -- Buckhounds disband, first hunt hit by Forestry Commission ban

AUGUST

2: LONDON -- Anti-hunt protest weakened by State-sponsored RSPCA's 'divide and rule' tactics.

2: DULVERTON -- Hunters blockade Taunton MP's surgery RSPCA fluffy protest fails to kick off.

12: GILMORBY MOOR -- Sabs attack and injure shooters. Seven arrests.

19: OXFORD -- Paint attacks on four vivs in solidarity with Barry Horne's renewed hunger strike.

largest fur feed company in Sandy, Utah, causing \$1m damage; a Salt Lake City feed manufacturer also took \$1m damage; and a viv lab construction site at UC-Davis was also hit. ALF have also targeted other abusers in support of the activists.

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SLOGAN, PARIS 1968



DIARY OF ECODEFENCE

Send your cuttings to Ecodefence, BCM 1715, London WC1N 3XX.

For more information: *Earth First! Action Update*, PO Box 9656, London N4 4JY; *Do Or Die* c/o Priory House, Brighton BN2 2GY; and *Direct Action Direct*, Box A, Public House Books, 21 Little Preston Street, Brighton BN1 2HQ.

In the last five years, the Metropolitan police has had to deal with 510 separate policing operations classified as being concerned with environmental groups -- and the trend is upwards

POLICE REVIEW,
21 March 1997

As illustrated by the above quote (it works out at an action every 3-4 days, and these figures are for London alone) the last few years have seen a huge growth in, and increasingly effective actions by, the radical ecological direct action movement

*The Empire Strikes Back,
DO OR DIE #6*

DECEMBER

25: BATH, MICHIGAN, USA -- Great Lakes ELF raid Jack Brower fur farm:

Our intent was to throw a special Christmas party for the mink held captive there. Upon arriving, we discovered that we were unexpected guests. To our surprise and delight, there were no surveillance cameras and no guard dogs to greet us or announce our arrival. We set to work immediately with our handy-dandy tin snips. We cut several openings through both the inner and outer fences surrounding the 6

MARCH

14: ROBINSON SCOTT CLEAR-CUT, MCKENZIE WILDERNESS, USA -- Solidarity action between ALF and ELF:

47 trees were spiked either with quartz rock spikes or metal rails. In addition, an incendiary device

habitat that is important for owls, voles, and woodpeckers, as well as many other species including humans. The clearcut area is near the McKenzie river, and siltation caused by logging would harm drinking water and kill fish.

The Spiking was done by a cell of the Animal Liberation Front known as the Eco-Animal

citizens.

Two of the trees spiked with rock are flagged with red paint. All spiking was done at high levels in an effort to avoid any harm to humans. Leave the forest alone, and no one gets hurt.

For the animals and for the earth,

ALF ECO-ANIMAL DEFENSE
UNIT

15: BELHAM, ONTARIO, CANADA
-- Statement from ELF

Greetings from the Great Lakes Earth Liberation Front. Furriers beware the ides of March! Like the evil Roman empire before you, your kingdom of cash and cruelty will fall by the weight of its own iniquity (or with a little help from our friends). On March 15, our band of eco-anarchists paid a visit to the Eberts fur farm in Blenheim, Ontario on Mink Lane Rd. We were amazed at the openness of the operation. The sheds were practically next to the main road, with no attempts being

12 sheds, though at least a few were empty. We cut several holes in the perimeter fence, but also opened the driveway gate leaving plenty of exit routes for our friends to choose from. We entered the first shed and had some trouble opening the cages. Once we figured out the latches, we started opening the cages and collecting the breeding cards. When possible, we damaged the cages. Te mink were ready to party, rushing past us to the nearby safety of wooded farland. We also knew that Rondeau Provincial Park was not far away, offering plenty of suitable habitat for our sleek brown buddies.

One of our group left a spray paint autograph on the feed shed, just to let them know that we care. When we had released about 240 of our captive comrades, a truck pulled up to the front gate that we had already pried open. Saddened to leave without finishing our intended business, we managed to escape detection by hopping the back fence and meeting our driver up the road. Though it is maddening to have been so close to freeing so many, we are somewhat comforted by Moter Jones' words: "Mourn the dead and work like hell for the living!"

20: DAVIS, CALIFORNIA, USA -- Bay Area Cell of the Earth X Animal Liberation Front forebombed site of Center for Comparative Medicine, University of California.

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14: LONDON -- Protests at Shell AGM, with shareholders pressing for external scrutiny of social and ecological policies.

15: DEVON -- ELF Westcountry Wildlife Cell spike Hannicombe Wood

WHY WE NEED G.A!

Not all the Update people are such prats...

Earth Action First! Update



Dear Eco-Vegan .

had a look at the E-V 16 "open letter to the green movement" by Rablix - I have reading and haven't got time for rants : It just seems that the same old same + by misinformed people miss come out over

increasingly effective actions by the radical ecological direct action movement

*The Empire Strikes Back,
DO OR DIE #6*

DECEMBER

25: BATH, MICHIGAN, USA -- Great Lakes ELF raid Jack Brower fur farm:

Our intent was to throw a special Christmas party for the mink held captive there. Upon arriving, we discovered that we were unexpected guests. To our surprise and delight, there were no surveillance cameras and no guard dogs to greet us or announce our arrival. We set to work immediately with our hand-dandy tin snips. We cut several openings through both the inner and outer fences surrounding the 6 sheds housing the mink. When we entered the shed area, we found three of the sheds were empty pelting stock housings. The other three were filled with anxious white mink restless to be free. After the rear door of each shed was removed (so that the mink could run out without having to run past their rescuers), each cage was opened. Those that didn't climb out immediately (most practically threw themselves out of those tiny wire cages!) were lifted out and released. One ferocious little guy would not let go of the glove of one human helper and had to be carried outside the perimeter hanging from a glove. Once laid on the ground (glove still gripped in his teeth), the mink took a look around and realizing that he was free at last, finally released the mitt and bounded across the snow to a nearby woods and away. We wish him and the others (some 150 mink we estimate) very happy lives. There was no better Christmas present that we could have received than the sight of all those beautiful creatures playing about, chasing each other, and finally running away. But no party would be complete without "decorations", so we liberally decorated the structures with festive green paint wishing all a Merry Christmas from the ELF! And just to think less than \$20

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First! Update

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"ELF activist sit in front of bulldozers --- ELF sabotage :/ .
No comment. maybe you've read a lit too much of
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Also the Dot not - Are you sure it happened or do
you read a lit too much press-

Anyways not going to get into this, the open letter doesn't
generate debate but creates divisions, spreads misinformed
and frankly Social Policy & Administration ...

IGNORE WHAT'S ABOVE -

JUST COME TO THE ELF! GATHERING
That'll maybe ~~explain~~ explain a few things about
what is happening in the green movement -
AND PLEASE THE ELF! /ELF is A THING OF THE PAST

at 29, 1 Newton st., MI 1HW, Manchester. Tel/Fax (0161) 224 48 46. E-mail: actionupdate@gn

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22: MANCHESTER AIRPORT -- Wild Garlic camp evicted. Threat to flood Zion tunnel.

23: EXTER, DEVON -- Westcountry Wildlife ELF trash *Shooting Times* in Fourboys newsagent.

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SAINT JEAN DE LUC, FRANCE -- McDonalds dynamited.

JUNE

2: FAIRMILE, DEVON -- A30 camp re-occupied!

2: MANCHESTER -- Bailiffs start River Rats camp eviction

4: MANCHESTER -- Rooftop protest at G-Mex against AMEC (runway 2 contractor) AGM

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was placed in a forest service vehicle, however it failed to ignite and was removed by activists for fear of hurting any operator of the vehicle. The action was to protest and stop the clearcutting of

Defendee Unit, and will be followed by actions from the Earth Liberation Front. Solidarity between these two movements is the worst nightmare of those who would abuse the earth and its

made to hide the farm from the public. This made our work somewhat more difficult, as traffic constantly passed us while we were on site. There were some

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5: MANCHESTER -- Eviction hearing against new Burleyhurst Wood camp

8: MANCHESTER AIRPORT -- Five

raft protestors on River Bollin arrested.
16: MANCHESTER AIRPORT -- Caver collapses roof of Cakehole tunnel. Matt Benson bought up after 17 days -- a record!

19: EUXTON -- Euxton Residents Against Sand Excavation (ERASE) protest quarry plan

21: EXETER, DEVON -- Westcountry Wildlife ELF trash *Farmers Weeklys* in Fourboys in support of ELF Farm Animal Rights Militia.

21: BRISTOL -- 20 arrests as street party blocks city. Cops stoned. Sit-down on M32.

22: DEVON -- Westcountry Wildlife ELF paintstripper fishing license box at Kennick Reservoir and spike Mardon Down tree.

30: CLITHEROE -- Residents grudge meeting against CEM fuel cover-up.

JULY

8: CARDIFF -- Residents grudge meeting against nuclear waste processing by privatised Amersham International

13: MANCHESTER AIRPORT -- Residents protest led by Terry Waite and Martin Bell

19: LONDON -- Anti-roads dinosaur protest against twelve major road schemes

21: SKELMERSDALE -- ARROW residents group protest quarrying

29: TARLETON -- Residents oppose

housing development

AUGUST

3: CLITHEROE -- Locals object to reduced CEM fuel monitoring, forcing temporary closure of site.

9: BLACKPOOL -- Residents hold picnic in council leader Ivan Taylor's own front garden to protest development of Leys Nursery allotments

10: SHETLAND -- Greenpeace occupy oil platform Stenna D

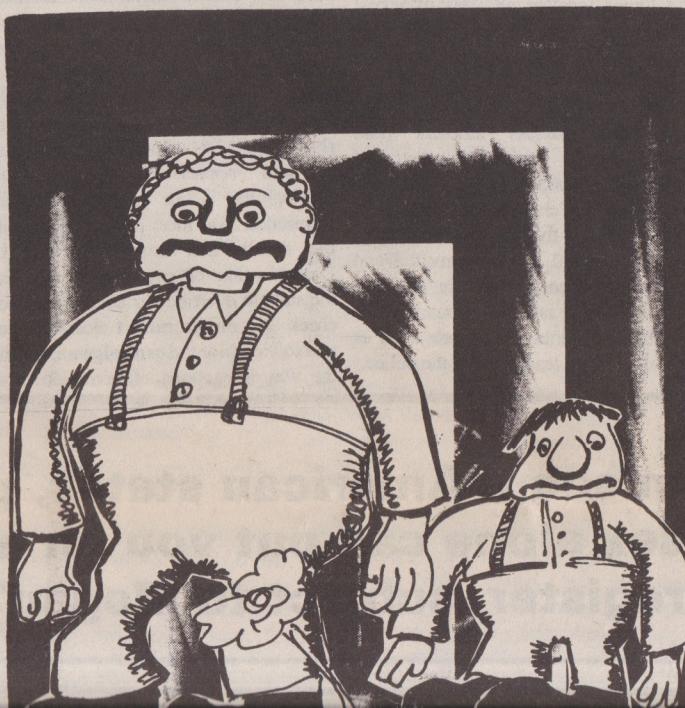
16: GREENPEACE -- Reinforce Stenna D oil platform occupation

19: GREENPEACE -- BP McDonaldisation legal challenge freezes assets imposing £1.4m fine.

RAVE OFF

On Saturday, 16th August 1997, there were plans to hold a rave party at Fairmile Bottom, near Chichester in Sussex. News of this spread rapidly in the region as it's a well-known site for such events. There's a catch though. Fairmile Bottom is a nature reserve and as such gets damaged *seriously* each time. Local EF'ers from Chichester and Brighton thought it was about time this needless destruction was put to an end, so the local environment agency rep was contacted, who in turn contacted the police. They reacted with unusual intelligence and impounded the soundsystem and arrested the organisers.

Although some might argue that this course of action was drastic -- OK, even counter-revolutionary -- it has to be remembered that the Earth must come first -- before the right to party or 'fuk the CJA' rhetoric. Those EF'ers made a decision which without doubt saved Fairmile Bottom and its furry (and other) companions a great deal of



PRISONERS OF WAR

A number of eco-warriors have been jailed for their beliefs. Prisoner details change rapidly and may be out of date by the time you read GA.

If you'd like a prisoners list, send 50p + SAE to Earth Liberation Prisoners, Box 23, 5 High Street, Glastonbury, Somerset.

ANIMAL LIBERATION:

Barry Horne (UK)
Gilly Peachey (UK)
Jeff Watkins (USA)
Rod Coronado (USA)
Daz Cole (UK)
Charles Skinner (Jersey)
Frank Kocera (Holland)
Mike Green (UK)
Keith Mann (UK)
Dafydd Callender (UK)
Barb Trenholm (UK)
Justin Wright (UK)
Gurj Ailja (UK)
Geoff Sheppard (UK)
Mike Roberts (UK)
Joe Taylor (UK)
Kevin Chapman (UK)
Tony Daly (UK)
Matthew Leyh (UK)

EARTH LIBERATION:

Andre Pusey (UK)
Daniel Unzityi (Spain)
Tom Thompson (UK)
Helen Woodson (USA)
Ted Kaczynski (USA)

MOVE:

Charles Simms Africa (USA)
Debbie Simms Africa (USA)
Delbert Orr Africa (USA)
Edward Goodman Africa (USA)
Janet Holloway Africa (USA)
Janine Phillips Africa (USA)
Merle Austin Africa (USA)
Michael Davis Africa (USA)
Mumia Abu Jamal (USA)
William Phillips Africa (USA)

FREE TED K

Former maths professor and Montana hermit Ted Kaczynski will be facing trial as the Unabomber in Sacramento, California, from 12th November 1992. His trial -- which could last three months -- will see whether FBI claims that he killed two technocrats and injured two others as a result of a 17 year long letter bombing campaign are lies.

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STOP PRESS

The following Tuesday, EF'ers confronted a group of 40+ party goers



in Fairmile Bottom -- trashing about with a large stereo looking for a site to rave. When asked to move on to less ecologically sensitive land, the party goers refused and became somewhat aggressive (these people are supposed to be 'Green' and 'cool',

remember!). This resulted in one EF'er having his nose broken and their mini van having its windscreen smashed.

The EF'ers afterwards thought "Was this a rave we were sabbing or a hunt? Perhaps we should call in the hunt sabs"

US SHOW TRIAL

This bias meant small parties couldn't compete with Lib / Lab / Con.

Source: *Independent*, 17/4/97

ELF-USA TRIAL

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We know for a fact that Ted K has been framed. It'd have been impossible for him to have heard about the Oklahoma City bombing, travelled from Lincoln, Montana, to Oakland California three states away by Greyhound bus, and then posted out a parcel bomb and three communiques there all on 13th May 1995 as the FBI maintain. It's just physically impossible! G4 also understands that Ted K has witnesses to prove he was elsewhere for other bombings, hardly likely to be dodgy pre-arranged alibis given FBI insistence that he acted alone and his hermit character. There's also the small matter of the FBI explaining how a guy who lived in a shack without electricity managed to fashion screws and other bomb components that need precision power tools.

We've still heard no definite word on



the death penalty, though 90% of respondents in a *New York Times* poll opposed Ted K's execution and all anarchists should as the State intend to execute Ted as an anarchist.

Donations to:

Ted Kaczynski c/o Quin Denvir, 10th Floor, 801 K Street, Sacramento CA95814, USA

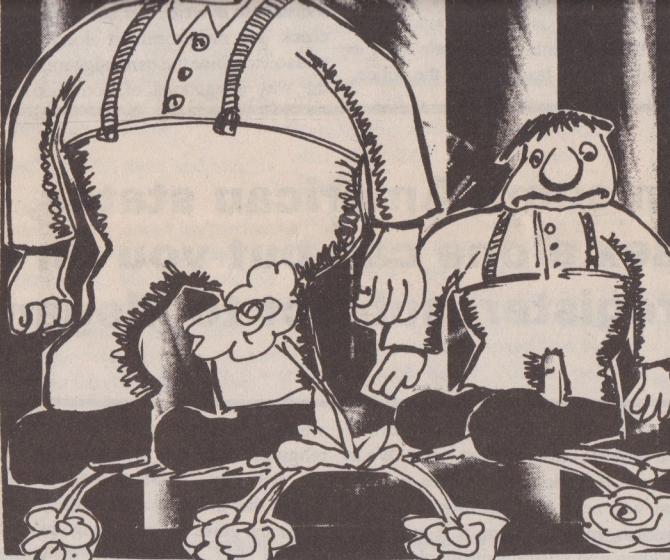
Unapack, POB 120494, Boston MA 02112, USA

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US SHOW TRIAL

Four members of the Coalition to Abolish the Fur Trade, Boston, were arrested for an ALF mink release at Carmel Ranch, Hinsdale, Massachusetts. Their true 'crime' was speaking out against animal abuse and for the ALF.

Letters of support to:

Jamie Roth, Warren Upsilon, Grant Upsilon and Al Smolak c/o Mass Four SG, Box 80632, MPLS, MN 55408-8632, USA

DEMOCRACY?

According to a leaked report, the BBC had a policy of giving the Green Party and other small parties minimal coverage during the general election.

RTZ IN THE DOCK

Bad news for our Earth rapist friends at RTZ. The Law Lords have ruled the British-based multinational mining corporation can be sued in UK courts for the activities of one of their subsidiaries in Namibia. The implications of this are far-reaching and most encouraging. It means that Third World victims of the subsidiaries of other British multi-nationals should be able to sue the parent company and even get legal aid to do so. Shell Oil, this means you!

For more info, PARTIZANS 0171 700 6139.

ELF-USA TRIAL

On Sunday, 30th March 1997, five Amerikan activists were arrested following a suspected ELF mink release action at Belenheim fur farm, Chatham, Ontario, Canada. The action saw the release of 1,800 mink. The same farm had been hit by ELF a fortnight earlier. Out of the five, two allegedly made statements implicating others.

Letters of support to:

Hilma Rudy, Pat Dodson and Gary Yourisky c/o Direct Action Defence Fund, Box 57357, Tucson, AZ 85732-7357, USA

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SHOREHAM 6 DAN UNZITI

On 26 April 1997, Mike Roberts, Joe Taylor, Tony Daly, Kevin Chapman, Matt Leyh and Tracy Roberts were found guilty of arson attacks against live exports targets in Shoreham. Mike got six years, Joe four, Tony three and Kevin two. ELP doesn't know what Matt got. Tracey got two years suspended.

It's alleged many in the cell gossed on each other. Because of this, ALF SG and Vegan Prisoners SG aren't supporting them. ELP in no way condones gossing but feels people are intelligent enough to decide for themselves who they want to support. Addresses supplied on receipt of SASE.

Jailed for three years in connection with sabotaging the Itoiz dam, Basque country. He didn't do it but was jailed anyway for speaking out against the dam.

Letters of support to:

Daniel Unziti, Iruneako Gartzela, San Roque Kalea z/g, Irunea-Pamplona, Spain

ANDRE & TOM

Andre Pusey and Tom Thompson are ELF activists jailed for eight weeks for obstruction at Manchester airport. Both should be free by mid-August 1997.

SAVE THE CHILDREN

Passion Brigade on the liberation of the young

The issue of children's rights is often talked about but never from a radical position where children and young people are given responsibility and control over their lives. We at Passion Brigade feel strongly that young people are just as oppressed by the system as women, the disabled, gays / lesbians, ethnic minorities and so on. Passion Brigade argues that the state uses very emotional issues such as paedophilia as a threat to control young people and also other groups that threaten big business and the status quo. Many feel surprised at the position we take as we are well known for our stance against abuse of any kind and our strong pacifist position. Yet we do not feel that it is a contradiction at all. We argue that just as all sex is not rape, that not all intergenerational relationships are abusive. In Passion Brigade we support the rights of all ages to make decisions about their sexuality and lives as long as it follows the basic idea of mutuality. We feel that it is a part of our dedication to the empowerment of the young that we encourage them to make the decisions that relate to their bodies and sex. This does mean giving them information about their bodies and sex and helping them feel that they are the owners of these. Without such a feeling of personal ownership they are not in a position of power to say no or yes, to make a choice. Abuse can occur when we are not in control of our own bodies. Supporting young people who have sexual relationships with adults is part of the way that Passion Brigade sees a freer social, sexual and political world. It is a world with the empowerment of children and the young and an end to barriers and restrictive definitions of age, gender, sexuality, ability and culture.

Supporting children and young people is about supporting their choice and their right to make decisions. One of the choices that we too often make for young people without regard to their wishes is around sex, sexuality and their bodies. Instead of giving them the information to make their own valid choices we treat them as property, something for us to control, to know what is "best" for. Under the guise of protection from paedophiles we control and regulate the behaviour of the young and deny that they have a sexuality at all, let alone that they may wish to make decisions to express it. In the eyes of the general public the mention of paedophilia gives the police

offences. The government and police now have a perfect excuse to raid the homes of campaigners, to rubbish and destroy radical movements and to attack without question the rights of those who may be working to undermine their power and change society for the better. This is already happening.

The Sex Offenders Register is a further demonisation of paedophilia and has been met by almost universal hysteria and approval "we must save the children". Passion Brigade is virtually the only anarchist or sexlib group that is totally opposed to the register and does not condemn intergenerational sex

probably the most unpopular group now -- paedophiles. More feared and hated than fascists or wife batterers, a picture has been painted of untouchable, sick evil men who are liable to jump out of the bushes at little children and rape or even murder them. Lewisham council wrote to 8,000 parents to name a sex offender who had served his sentence and was moving into the area. They were warned to be vigilant watching their children over Easter. It is suggested that the public should have access to the register. It will not be long before we have vigilante lynchings and suicides.

The Sex Offenders Register is not reserved for those who commit violence but lumps together all sorts of sexual non-conformers like those who have mutual relationships which break the age of consent laws, gays who cottage or cruise with a 17 year old and those who merely possess "indecent" (and read naked for "indecent") photos of under 16s. Passion Brigade certainly recognise that children are abused in this society but this abuse is not always primarily sexual. Physical, mental and emotional abuse is far more common and this abuse is mostly found in the family and agents of the state such as social workers, teachers and the police.

The hysteria around the issue does not protect children. Giving them power over their bodies and lives and working to change the structures that create the abuse mentality is what is needed, not the separation of children as sexual people. We are all born with a sexual drive that is manifest throughout our lives from birth, well over 50% of boys and girls now have intercourse below the legal age of consent. As leading radical feminist Wilhemina Marx says,

sexuality is a basic expression of humanity not bound by age, gender or race

It is the repression of that basic expression of our humanity by religious tradition and state dictates that creates the violence and abuse that is so much part of our society, not the allowing of freedom at whatever age to make sexual choices. The North American Man / Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) has its primary aim as one to end oppression of sexuality. Paedophilia is an issue that once mentioned has most people foaming at the mouth and baying for blood. Demonisation of paedophiles enables the state to override our basic rights; to check the movements it doesn't like and to victimise the campaigners, much the way allegations of homosexuality

children and disempower them. Children are neither respected or protected when actual abuse occurs. Passion Brigade argues that the emotional response to paedophilia is culturally based and constructed by the very forces we as radicals, feminists and anarchists seek to overthrow. Society interferes with the free and natural development of children (and indeed everyone's) sexuality, leading to some children growing up to be rapists or just sexually unhappy adults. The real problem of paedophiles who impose their sexuality is the only one tiny cog in the oppression of children. Anarchists are being duped to the reality of this fact and have left alone this issue from our usual questioning and analysis because of fear. Passion Brigade wants to start to question our basic assumptions and to start to see children as a group in need of liberation from *us* as much as "*them*", to think what children's rights really are about. Rights to do as we say or as they feel, remember children are not *our* property but individuals in themselves. It is time anarchists shook off the last of the Victorian constructions of childhood and sexuality and worked toward, truly embraced a newer, freer age.

In some American states, pre-marital sex alone can put you on a Sex Offenders register, subject to Megan's Law

Passion Brigade on the liberation of the young

The issue of children's rights is often talked about but never from a radical position where children and young people are given responsibility and control over their lives. We at Passion Brigade feel strongly that young people are just as oppressed by the system as women, the disabled, gays / lesbians, ethnic minorities and so on. Passion Brigade argues that the state uses very emotional issues such as paedophilia as a threat to control young people and also other groups that threaten big business and the status quo. Many feel surprised at the position we take as we are well known for our stance against abuse of any kind and our strong pacifist position. Yet we do not feel that it is a contradiction at all. We argue that just as all sex is not rape, that not all intergenerational relationships are abusive. In Passion Brigade we support the rights of all ages to make decisions about their sexuality and lives as long as it follows the basic idea of mutuality. We feel that it is a part of our dedication to the empowerment of the young that we encourage them to make the decisions that relate to their bodies and sex. This does mean giving them information about their bodies and sex and helping them feel that they are the owners of these. Without such a feeling of personal ownership they are not in a position of power to say no or yes, to make a choice. Abuse can occur when we are not in control of our own bodies. Supporting young people who have sexual relationships with adults is part of the way that Passion Brigade sees a freer social, sexual and political world. It is a world with the empowerment of children and the young and an end to barriers and restrictive definitions of age, gender, sexuality, ability and culture.

Supporting children and young people is about supporting their choice and their right to make decisions. One of the choices that we too often make for young people without regard to their wishes is around sex, sexuality and their bodies. Instead of giving them the information to make their own valid choices we treat them as property, something for us to control, to know what is "best" for. Under the guise of protection from paedophiles we control and regulate the behaviour of the young and deny that they have a sexuality at all, let alone that they may wish to make decisions to express it. In the eyes of the general public the mention of paedophilia gives the police, government and other forces legitimate right to act against our civil liberties, right to freedom of speech and thought, in the eyes of the general public. These attacks that are on the increase and carried out under the guise of child

offences. The government and police now have a perfect excuse to raid the homes of campaigners, to rubbish and destroy radical movements and to attack without question the rights of those who may be working to undermine their power and change society for the better. This is already happening.

The Sex Offenders Register is a further demonisation of paedophilia and has been met by almost universal hysteria and approval "we must save the children". Passion Brigade is virtually the only anarchist or sexlib group that is totally opposed to the register and does not condemn intergenerational sex out of hand. Without the registers of unpopular groups such as jews or homosexuals in Nazi Germany, the genocide of the concentration camp could not have happened in the way that it did. The state has picked on

probably the most unpopular group now -- paedophiles. More feared and hated than fascists or wife batterers, a picture has been painted of untouchable, sick evil men who are liable to jump out of the bushes at little children and rape or even murder them. Lewisham council wrote to 8,000 parents to name a sex offender who had served his sentence and was moving into the area. They were warned to be vigilant watching their children over Easter. It is suggested that the public should have access to the register. It will not be long before we have vigilante lynchings and suicides.

The Sex Offenders Register is not reserved for those who commit violence but lumps together all sorts of sexual non-conformers like those who have mutual relationships which break the age of consent laws, gays who cottage or cruise with a 17 year old and those who merely possess "indecent" (and read naked for "indecent") photos of under 16s. Passion Brigade certainly recognises that children are abused in this society but this abuse is not always primarily sexual. Physical, mental and emotional abuse is far more common and this abuse is mostly found in the family and agents of the state such as social workers, teachers and the police.

The hysteria around the issue does not protect children. Giving them power over their bodies and lives and working to change the structures that create the abuse mentality is what is needed, not the separation of children as sexual people. We are all born with a sexual drive that is manifest throughout our lives from birth, well over 50% of boys and girls now have intercourse below the legal age of consent. As leading radical feminist Wilhemina Marx says,

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Many would cry out that this is worth it if it protects children from harm. We at Passion Brigade argue it does not and that was never the intention to protect children. In our opinion it is to control children and create controllable adults.

are used in Iran to remove political and religious dissenters even though they are not gay. Passion Brigade also argues that the paedophile scare is used under the guise of "protecting children" and in fact serves only to control

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NO, NO, NO!

Steve says the Passion Brigade are wrong

Society is so governed by sex, it is made so important that it takes over our thinking and obscures things. Yet there are more things in the world and the sexual is just one among many concerns. Society is unbalanced. It is true that the media whips up hysteria about paedophiles, and this register is part of that process. If people are attacking their local child abusers, they will not be acting against more general oppressions like low wages, the JSA, High Street CCTV cameras etc. The paedophiles are scapegoats, but they are still harmful to our wellbeing and need to be dealt with.

As a parent, your perspective changes. You will do anything to protect your children. We have to stop the sex killings. Little children being kidnapped, raped and murdered. The Passion Brigade brush aside the legitimate sense of outrage people feel against the sex murderers. There is justice in the wish of the crowd to

lynch the perverts who rape and murder little girls.

Children ought to be allowed their innocence. Not that we should deny sex and pretend it doesn't exist, like the Victorians; but children should be left alone. It is absolutely wrong that an adult should use a child in this way, and such crimes must be

stopped. In all sexual relationships there should be a balance present between the partners. There is no partnership in the adult abusing a child - it is entirely wrong and needs to be prevented.

Where is the problem in **not** doing something? Are the adult's desires so much more important than our need to build a decent world? Why can't people find partners in their own age group? Society is so hung up on this sex thing that it ignores restraint. Children are not in a position to give their informed consent to this in any meaningful way, and so should be left alone. When they grow up they will be able to sort it out like we all do.

Periodically, the tabloid press whip

up some more hysteria against Myra Hindley. Hindley is seen as the exemplar of the negative mother, the woman who tortured and killed the children instead of giving birth and nurturing. Hindley is a symbol of society's failure, and there is no resolution to the problem she represents. The sex-killings go on because society is sick, and 'Evil Myra' must stay in jail because people recognize themselves and their world in her situation. We have all failed to provide a safe environment for our children, we have failed to build a decent world where they can thrive. The Passion Brigade are completely wrong in this, and we need to distance ourselves from what they are saying.



MYRA: "evil"

SCENES FROM THE SHOW TRIAL

The Gandalf conspiracy trial and its implications

To show that they will not allow the State to compromise their revolutionary activities, this report was compiled by the defendants in the dock during the Gandalf trial. Their intent is not to make myths but simply to do what they're on trial for, tell it like it is. As former French resistance fighter and technophobe Jacques Ellul made clear, a free society will not be created through propaganda. This is why personal names have been omitted from this account wherever possible -- its bad enough they're appeared in the mainstream press ('process is punishment'). For obvious reasons, they couldn't wait until trial's end. This account has been written just short of the end of the prosecution's case. You'll have to see the rest of the alternative press and the next issue of *GA* for the final result on this trial.

THE BASICS

From the actions issued by Operation Washington CO, DS Des Thomas, frontman for Special Branch's Animal Rights National Index (ARNI), we know that the State's original target was ALF press officer Robin Webb. He is n1 in their log. Operation Washington phase 1 was an attempt to send Robin down for passing a press release onto the press about contamination of battery eggs in Tescos by the Poultry Liberation Organisation. This failed on bizarre grounds due to contamination of evidence.

The State's next tack -- Operation Washington phase 2 -- was an attempt to link Robin to a conspiracy to cause GBH through the posting of Justice Department devices, which would have involved eight defendants mainly well-known

were raided. Others were raided for reasons as trivial as having written Robin letters of support whilst he was remanded for the PLO BS. Those found to have direct action-related literature were pressured into making statements. To their credit, many refused to cooperate. The raids culminated in 60 officers hauling in the current defendants on 16th January 1996, Lyndhurst and

didn't meet there. The cops didn't go round busting the hundreds of others that were also there that did meet Robin. Not yet anyway. Most of the defendants had never met in person before and some didn't even know of the others' existence.

WHAT'S IT ABOUT?

Freedoms of expression, association and conscience are supposedly guaranteed by the UN Charter of Human Rights but clearly UK's conspiracy / incitement laws make a mockery of these 'fine words'. Under Operation Washington, reporting news or expressing opinion is criminal incitement and knowing others doing it -- if the above counts as 'knowing' someone -- is conspiracy. Because conspiracy / incitement is assessed on *intent* not effect, proof of intent can be derived from private records and evidence of association and lifestyle -- who you

would like to make broad use of Ireland &c.

MI5 have every reason to want to fuck up *GA* after we helped Larry O'Hara expose their asset Tim Hepple and their front *Searchlight* in 1993. They've been sniping at us through proxies every since. More pressingly, their counter-subversion unit, F2, is on its last legs so MI5 are desperately trying to redefine subversion as terrorism, a 'growth area' as far as Stella Rimington was concerned during her 1994 Dimbleby lecture. Hampshire Special Branch and Brays were the first to be used in a big way against militant Greens at Twyford in 1993, so they were MI5's 'in' into this growth area. MI5 defector David Shayler said on *Newsnight* that "ecowarriors" were the Security Service's prime target now after the Northern Ireland ceasefire. Using the Gandalf trial to showcase militant Greens as 'ecoterrorists' would certainly serve their ends well.

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Realising the Gandalf prosecution was blatantly political, the defendants formed the Gandalf Defendants Campaign at the London Greenpeace Fair in October 1996. Specific campaigning activities are dealt with in previous mags. This was not considered particularly effective for a broad range of reasons:



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During one raid on Robin's house, they found notes on conspiracy law made as a result of the 1988 Cardiff conspiracy trial, which the Thought Police used to temporarily shut down the ALF newsletter *SG2*. Operation

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would like to make broad use of conspiracy / incitement legislation, but why Robin first? This is part of a deliberate psychological warfare strategy on behalf of the State to monopolise all public expression about animal liberation so they can pretend it isn't happening or misrepresent it as terrorism threatening to the public, in order to reinforce the public's dependence on the State for 'protection'. While so much as one voice exists to contradict this disinformation, then the psy-war strategy is compromised. Robin is such a voice. The upsurge over live exports really got the State worried -- that's why they had to get Robin out the way. When he was remanded to HMP Winchester after a previous frame-up failed, the Thought Police openly admitted "We're locking you up to shut you up".

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- Those running the GDC had other important campaigning commitments. One was even remanded during Barry Horne's January 1997 hunger strike! The distance between each defendant and the GDC didn't help either.
- The movement was largely indifferent either because they didn't believe the State could really be that repressive (liberal ostriches), they thought they'd be left alone if they ignored the prosecution or otherwise distanced themselves from the defendants, or because this form of resistance wasn't obviously hands-on direct action and they had another treehouse to build or



JUDGE DAVE SELWOOD: "...for he is the very model of the modern major-general"

Lymington police stations in the New Forest being set aside specifically for processing them. It's estimated Operation Washington had cost £2m at this stage and one of the most

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During one raid on Robin's house, they found notes on conspiracy law made as a result of the 1988 Cardiff conspiracy trial, which the Thought Police used to temporarily shut down the ALF newsletter, *SG*. Operation Washington, phase 2, was then rejigged to be an investigation into conspiracy to incite criminal damage by *GA*, Robin and the new *SG* editor putting out news of direct action. This was all-encompassing and its implications for civil liberties much more far-reaching.

Between March 1995 and January 1996, over 55 homes, shops &c were raided, eight people arrested and six charged, the latter being *GA*'s editors, Robin and the then-editor of *SG*. In an attempt to establish connections between *GA* and the ALF officers, the Thought Police drew up an RU51 list composed of all those that subscribed to *SG* and who had connections with *GA* as obscure as living in Oxford. Buying a tee-shirt from GAMO &c. All these people

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- The mainstream media did their best to avoid the campaign because the defendants were being done for reporting the news they wouldn't. The case would expose their cowed, complicit relationship with the Thought Police and how the cops were the ones dictating news content in UK.

This isn't being written to be condemnatory. The defence campaigners did their best, the anarcho-primitivist and animal lib milieu understood the issues and were supportive from the start, diverse and unexpected sections of the anarchist press covered the case, and the movement as a whole seems to have woken up now the trial is



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Lymington police stations in the New Forest being set aside specifically for processing them. It's estimated Operation Washington had cost £2m at this stage and one of the most disgraceful aspects of this misallocation of resources to attack basic freedoms rather than defend them (what the cops *say* their job is) was that kidnapped French student Celine Figar was held hostage and horribly abused for a week and then murdered when the extra coppers could have found and freed her instead of raiding bookshops &c. Despite so much evidence that it had to be piled high in two small rooms, the cops were hard-pressed to find connections even between defendants. The only 'connection' between Robin and *GA*'s general editor was a couple of unsolicited phonecalls in 1994, none longer than 17 seconds, which the cops can't even prove *GA* received. Robin's 'connection' with GAMO was both attended the same rally in Cambridge, though they

are, who you know, what you think, not what you've done. The State's skeleton argument makes reference to 'direct, therefore illegal, action' and then that anarchism is predicated on direct action. Clearly this indicates the State's intent to criminalise an entire ideology, anarchism, the sort of thing going on with the Italian conspiracy trials around 'ORIA' and *Insurrection* at the moment. The Gandalf prosecution is part of a European-wide programme of repression. The UK conspiracy / incitement laws are ridiculously far-reaching and make available legal sanctions that know the CJA into the shade -- ten years in the case of the Gandalf defendants. Anyone that thinks the use of the conspiracy / incitement laws in the Gandalf case is not laying the foundation stone of a police state in UK is living in cloud-cuckoo land.

It's understandable why any regime that believes in order, not justice,

Thought Police were undoubtedly unhappy that *GA* was also first to report Robin Webb had been framed for the Sussex shotgun case, something subsequently proven by his acquittal at Lewes last June 1997, despite it being a case of his word against twenty cops. Why rope Robin in with a conspiracy with *GA* though when it'd be much more prejudicial to put him in the dock with people accused of doing the stuff he's accused of inciting -- as was intended with the JD prosecution-*that-never-was*? The reason, obviously, is that there is another agenda working here and that was clumsily revealed by *Observer* hack Mike Durham. In the course of writing a hatchet job on *GA* as a damage limitation exercise after Operation Washington got adverse publicity after raiding Frontline Books, Manchester, Durham admitted the operation was the first joint operation between Special Branch and MI5 after their post-Cold War ructions over Northern

THE GANDALF TRIAL

GREEN ANARCHIST No. 49-50/Page 10

actually happening.

On the legal front, some defendants worked their way through three different firms before settling on the right firm. A particularly lucky escape was from Bindmans. *Searchlight's* Gery Gable is Geoffrey Bindman's biggest client and Duncan Campbell had used them to harass supporters of alternative medicine advocate Martin J Walker. Although they'd done the Angry Brigade trials of the 1970s and now do most of the animal lib cases, it was found even Birnbergs just the best of a bad lot. Though very competent legally, they really weren't prepared to do more than pay lip service to the political defence needed to smash the Gandalf prosecution. When defendants insisted on this and a united front in court, the lawyers just picked on the younger, more easily manipulated defendants in order to foment disunity in an attempt to use this in the dock as disproof of conspiracy. They were also keen on defendants repudiating their writings and principles, exactly what the State wanted them to do.

Despite these difficulties, the committal hearing in Portsmouth, 10-18th December 1996, was a disaster for the prosecution. During it, various abuse of process arguments were run and prosecutor Dick OnSlow was stupid enough to concede the injustice of trying Robin twice on the same evidence, the evidence from the PLO case. The stipendiary magistrate, Mr Clark, had to let Robin go, even though he took the whole weekend to think about it. The State got all fussed about this and have put in an appeal, yet to be heard. Des Thomas admitted in court that the trial would be meaningless without 'central conspirator' Robin Webb in the dock. He also clumsily conceded the involvement of MI5 in the case and it took two cops carting CPS man Mr Venton off into a side room mid-statement to 'refresh his memory' enough not to admit in court the only reason the other defendants were in court was because the old bill were

1997, and to show that the attacks on fundamental freedoms the Gandalf case represented were unacceptable, a cycle blockade was called for with the intent of causing enough gridlock to paralyse Portsmouth. This latter call got the cops panicking. Posters were ripped down the same night they were put up and the cops were questioning people at random about it. Typical of the disgraceful cowardice that characterises secret police psychology, they also knocked up the elderly housemates of *GA*'s general editor at 6am in the morning in an attempt to intimidate and then didn't even have the bottle to admit it thereafter.

In an attempt to control the situation, the opening day of the trial was closed to the defendants, their supporters and even the defence team. It was declared a 'public interest immunity' day where the judge and prosecutor decided in secret what evidence should be disclosed to the defence and jury and what should be withheld 'in the interests of national security', to conceal MI5's role in the case, surveillance technologies and informers &c. Not giving the jury all the facts makes a fair trial impossible and holding a closed session about this whilst there was a major demo outside just went to show the Gandalf trial was discredited from the beginning. Media coverage contrasted the secrecy of the court with the

ecotour Tim Hepple &c) and why Sheyler said the exact opposite on *Newsnight*. For reasons best known to themselves, the defence team never got any of this in writing and when *GA*'s general editor pressed OnSlow on this, he denied saying any of this stuff. Defendants concluded the *prime agenda* of the court was to keep the spook stuff out of court...

A FAIR TRIAL?

It's no accident Hampshire Constabulary were fronting for ARNI. As already seen, conservative Hampshire has the highest conviction and sentencing rate of any UK county. All the dodgiest trials happen in Hampshire. It's how the State stacks the odds in its favour. It's policy. Portsmouth's such a hick town that people are attacked in the streets for having beards, though it has no trouble hosting an annual Orange march.

The State also gets to pick the judge and they've got a fine 'un in Mr Justice Dave Selwood or 'Captain Mainwaring' as he's known to those unfortunate to come before him at Pompey Combined Court. Selwood's father was a Royal Navy commander and Selwood himself boasts the rank of major-general. He's only officiated over civilian courts for the last five years, and only then because the British Army Of the Rhine (BAOR) were being wound down after the end of the Cold War. Selwood's also served in Cyprus and the far East. We won't suggest this was during periods of insurgency or that he's attached to a teleprinter straight back to Millbank. Unsurprisingly, he's acted as a second prosecutor throughout, drawing the jury's attention to evidence OnSlow has missed and chucking them out of the room the moment the defence team start to score points in cross-examination. On one occasion, he even dreamed up case law out of thin air to do this and had to reverse his position when challenged over it after lunch -- in the jury's absence, of course. The only evidence helpful to the prosecution

implying he had access to highly confidential satellite intelligence to do it! Only $\frac{1}{3}$ of the jurors were women and all were middle-aged or above.

THE CASE FOR THE PROSECUTION

The first thing that needs to be said is OnSlow's delivery is stupifyingly boring. It's difficult staying awake as he pontificates on one document after another, seemingly endlessly. His junior, Mz Lumsden (aka 'Mary Poppins'), even sent *him* to sleep! This isn't a cheap shot -- it has political significance as it means damning mistakes can be overlooked as the defendants struggle to maintain concentration. It reduces them to passive objects at the back of the court upon which 'Justice' is enacted, the worst in a political trial.

Despite OnSlow's pedestrian delivery, his opening statement was hyped daily for a week in the local press and large and suspiciously unsigned articles appeared in the spookier end of the nationals the first weekend too. Publications the defendants clearly never wrote or had nothing to do with such as the fearsome-sounding *Terra-ist* and early *Do Or Die*'s were attributed to them and the contents of these stray publications so hyped that the articles about them risked being treated as inciting themselves by Hampshire's overzealous Special Branch. The reason why there was no such action, of course, was because this conformed to MI5's show trial gameplan. Tough on them, Di did her 'harvey wallbanger' bit on Saturday, 30th August 1997, and that squeezed everything else out of the press.

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what he was doing in 1992, former *GA* contact Joe Smith of Cheltenham insisted he couldn't remember the year as he'd been doing a lot of drink and drugs at the time, but thought he might have been in prison or a psychiatric facility -- this (for OnSlow) disastrous line of questioning continued for more than an hour in the same tone.

So far, OnSlow has been going on and on relentlessly for five weeks, despite saying his case was only set for three and he claimed he'd saved two more by reorganising his papers at the start of the trial.

....AND FOR THE DEFENCE

Through their cross-examination, it's possible to see the defence team is trying to introduce different categories of (not) incitement. The bottom-most is 'encouragement', just reporting the news, what the cops really want to stop. The next category is 'general exhortation', abstract philosophical discussion and "Smash the State!"-type comment. If this isn't allowed, the cops are going to have to burn half the sociology textbooks in uni libraries! The last category is 'specific incitement', telling people how and where to trash stuff. Even here there's a wealth of other literature which is treated as quite legal -- everything from *CorporateWatch* listing scumbag companies and their directors through to the *Anarchist Cookbook*, WH Smith's guide to high explosives (don't try this at home, kids!).

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competent legally, they really weren't prepared to do more than pay lip service to the political defence needed to smash the Gandalf prosecution. When defendants insisted on this and a united front in court, the lawyers just picked on the younger, more easily manipulated defendants in order to foment disunity in an attempt to use this in the dock as disproof of conspiracy. They were also keen on defendants repudiating their writings and principles, exactly what the State wanted them to do.

Despite these difficulties, the committal hearing in Portsmouth, 10-18th December 1996, was a disaster for the prosecution. During it, various abuse of process arguments were run and prosecutor Dick Onslow was stupid enough to concede the injustice of trying Robin twice on the same evidence, the evidence from the PLO case. The stipendiary magistrate, Mr Clark, had to let Robin go, even though he took the whole weekend to think about it. The State got all fussed about this and have put in an appeal, yet to be heard. Des Thomas admitted in court that the trial would be meaningless without 'central conspirator' Robin Webb in the dock. He also clumsily conceded the involvement of MI5 in the case and it took two cops carting CPS man Mr Venton off into a side room mid-statement to 'refresh his memory' enough not to admit in court the only reason the other defendants were in court was because the old bill were using them to get Robin.

The defence would have preferred to have the trial out of Portsmouth, a highly conservative area whose court has the 2nd highest sentencing and conviction rate of any in the UK. A move might give the Crown enough time to put Robin back in the dock with the other defendants, so they were stuck with it. One particularly effective thing the GDC did to neutralise the Crown's advantage was to put 20,000 leaflets about the case around the town (it only has ~60,000 households), something that had

Onslow reaching for the Contempt of Court Act when several coppers and the leader of Hampshire County Council all said they'd received a leaflet. Onslow went on to argue demonstrating and even selling *G4* in Hampshire was contempt of court and made up stories about how the

even have the bottle to admit it thereafter.

In an attempt to control the situation, the opening day of the trial was closed to the defendants, their supporters and even the defence team. It was declared a 'public interest immunity' day where the judge and prosecutor decided in secret what evidence should be disclosed to the defence and jury and what should be withheld 'in the interests of national security', to conceal MI5's role in the case, surveillance technologies and informers &c. Not giving the jury all the facts makes a fair trial impossible and holding a closed session about this whilst there was a major demo outside just went to show the Gandalf trial was discredited from the beginning. Media coverage contrasted the secrecy of the court with the

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INFERNAL MACHINATIONS

G4's general editor argued that it'd do no good using legal arguments to winnow the evidence down to one 'inciting' text if that text was used to convict. He argued it'd be far better to argue such texts were fair comment to facilitate their future publication and to make the trial so politically embarrassing that MI5 would have to pull the prosecution. Calling





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'IN THE INTERESTS OF NATIONAL SECURITY'

Needless to say, all this was met with defiance and OnSlow's threats were ignored. To demonstrate the best response to repression was resistance, the GDC called a demo for the opening day of the trial 26th August

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To get ahead of ourselves a bit, the prosecution wrong-footed the defence a bit by not simply issuing a flat denial after PII Day. They claimed everything in the unused evidence about MI5 *provocateur* Tim Hepple had been withheld "by accident". They presented him as a repentant fascist hiding from his past -- not something PII-able. They eventually produced a document claiming *Searchlight*'s Ray Hill and Tim Hepple weren't MI5 informers but most of what was disclosed came in the form of Chinese whispers and contradicted this. The defence heard MI5 had files on both Hepple and Hill, the former because of his involvement in the BNP (ie. infiltrating it) and SWP (never was -- obvious BS) and the latter because of his links to an active file (Gable, presumably). It was also claimed MI5 had no interest in militant Greens and had passed the buck to ARNI in 1995, which begs the question what they were doing before then (back to

served in Cyprus and the like). We won't suggest this was during periods of insurgency or that he's attached to a teleprinter straight back to Millbank. Unsurprisingly, he's acted as a second prosecutor throughout, drawing the jury's attention to evidence OnSlow has missed and chucking them out of the room the moment the defence team start to score points in cross-examination. On one occasion, he even dreamed up case law out of thin air to do this and had to reverse his position when challenged over it after lunch -- in the jury's absence, of course. The only evidence helpful to the prosecution he's had withdrawn was the *Eodefenders Handbook*, and the only reason for that is because we all knew it'd been written by *provocateur* Tim Hepple. Similarly, even though it was obvious that Venton and Thomas' stories were totally at odds, Selwood steam-rollered over abuse of process arguments opening the trial. Maybe this had something to do with the right-angled thumb and forearm Thomas was showing him when he was swearing his oath. We kid you not -- we've never seen such blatant Masonic signalling in a court before!

The advantage to the State of having a judge hostile to the defendants is that this raises the odds of the jury being hostile too -- as well as ignorant, thanks to the PII gags and being constantly herded out of court. In an attempt to neutralise the advantage to the State of holding the trial in a Navy town, the defence team insisted that all potential jurors involved in animal abuse ("yes, your Honour, that *does* include fishing"), road-building, the military or arms industries be excluded from jury service. The 46 potential jurors that hadn't already found a way out of the process had to be polled *twice* before a mere dozen could be found to do the business. Of these, one served in the Navy 17 years, another wanted to serve in the Navy, one worked for Matra / Marconi ("the civilian division") and whose father had been an RAF cop, and another was an evangelical Ordnance Survey employee who did maps for NATO,

conformed to MI5's show trial gameplan. Tough on them, Di did her 'harvey wallbanger' bit on Saturday, 30th August 1997, and that squeezed everything else out of the press. It's no doubt for this reason alone that the glaring failings of the Crown's case have not come to public attention. After going through the *Lancaster Bomber* literally for days, DC Gunner was presented with a note from Venton conceding that the *Bomber* was "not inciting" in any respect. Venton had been giving legal advice to Operation Washington cops throughout. Gunner was then asked to read through the *Bomber's* community resistance listings to find evidence of incitement. He was given the opportunity to take as long as he liked. Plenty of Masonic distress signals from the witness box but no adverse evidence produced. Similarly humiliating was the *Terra-ist*. After spending days attributing this to GAMO, it came out in cross-examination that its true author was not only known to the cops but had actually been arrested and released without charge three years ago! One cop insisted on wasting $\frac{3}{4}$ hour of court time raking through an obscure Yugoslavian fanzine, *Kerosine*, for evidence of incitement only to admit there was none. Not only are the jury heartily sick of this, even the judge reprimanded the cop concerned for this one.

Witnesses are another awkward area for the Crown. The Thought Police are laughably ignorant of the material they're supposed to be showing the jury through, and are just plain ignorant in many cases. DC Betts didn't know what Auschwitz was -- despite people like him creating such places half a century ago -- whilst DS Thomas admitted reading only four books on anarchism, one fiction and one being *Society of the Spectacle*, which he understood so well he thought its author is called de Burd (*sic*). Aside from the cops and the odd expert, all the witnesses were coerced into court under the threat of being made defendants themselves. Hard to think of them as grasses, they helped the prosecution so little. When asked

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As well as trying to put the words on trial in context, the defence team have been working the angles legally, planning to push the abuse of process argument again as they've now got witnesses to prove Thomas a liar and at one stage trying to put a deal to the judge that everyone would plead guilty in exchange for no jail sentences. This politically unconscious deal cooked up the lawyers behind his back so outraged *GA*'s community resistance editor that he threatened to get his passport rather than accept it. It would have meant accepting the State's right to censor and shape the content of social reality out of pure expediency. As it was, Selwood wasn't interested anyway -- though he did give a good indication as to sentence (~2½ years, under half that expected) and this allayed some of the defendants' fears.

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counsel now"). A series of meetings quickly established this barrister *wouldn't* call the secret state assets rather than *couldn't* call them, not least because it just wasn't tenable for him to pretend you can't call hostile witnesses. Faced with taking instruction from his client or resigning, the barrister chose to resign on Thursday, 11th September 1997, even though this was pretty much unprecedented behaviour on his part.

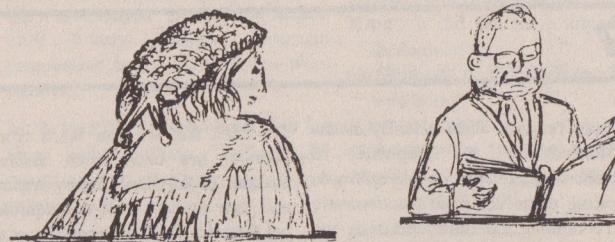
claimed the barrister had behaved entirely properly (even though other lawyers were just amazed at what he'd done), said the defendant should forget his objections (ie. exclude the secret state stuff key to a political defence), and reconcile himself to the barrister (even though it was the barrister that resigned). Wadham, of course, is a ex-Birnbergs employee who knows the others personally. Liberty have consistently failed the

turned up in court with books and toothbrush packed prepared to demand representation until sent down for contempt, bringing the trial to a grinding halt as he'd then have no representation (even himself) in court. Rather than see the trial stalled, the defence team insisted he be severed from the trial so it could continue in his absence. This'd also stop his cross-examining other defendants to bring out the secret state stuff, calling the witnesses himself, or bringing to public attention Hepple papers in the unused the defence team had not bought to the attention of the defendants despite their requests for them. It's almost unprecedented for a defendant to be severed from a conspiracy trial because all the other defendants can then blame the absent party and increase their own chances of acquittal. Still, because all were party to the others instructions, this is what had to happen.

top of our heads, starting with David Sheyler....

Of course, justice is made in the streets, not the courts. The Thought Police are bringing this prosecution as they think it'll silence, marginalise and intimidate the movement. We need to show the Gandalf prosecution has had the opposite effect. As a result of this case, *GA* has more contacts that it's had for years and a new editorial; group will see it continues to be published however

defendants have already said that people should take exactly the action they're accused of inciting if convicted -- that way the jury's murder of free speech will have incited the burnings and window-breakings &c, not anything they may have said. The weekend after the verdict has been chosen as the time for @ction but we must really fight continuously from that time on. Decisions have consequences and a guilty verdict will smash the



Mz LUMSDEN examines cop. Note lack of Masonic distress signals.....

What came next was even odder. Even though legal representation is fundamental to *bourgeois* justice, the judge insisted the trial proceed because of the time and expense already invested in it. When it was pointed out the defendant didn't know the first thing about court procedure, let alone what a QC did, Selwood insisted all the points of law in this case had already been discussed (sez who?) and the defendant was "an intelligent lad more familiar with the case papers than most as he wrote half of them". Despite this, Selwood generously allocated *two days* for the defendant to familiarise himself with 6,000 pages of evidence and as many items of unused! When the defendant contacted Liberty director John Wadham for emergency help, he was kept on hold until Monday morning, when he was supposed to start representing himself. Wadham then

Gandalf defendants, promising support but offering not a line of recommendation to facilitate a campaigning video prior to the January 1997 speaking tour, despite being written to and rung a dozen times. After their AGM was picketed, Wadham personally promised a sympathetic quote for a leaflet to be circulated at Glastonbury but never offered one. He did his best to wriggle out of comment to the media on this key case for civil liberties and the observer he said would be sent to the first fortnight of the trial turned up two mornings only and never even opened his notebook! Part of the liberal establishment like the barrister, he claimed not to know what was wrong with *Searchlight* -- as if the Gable Memo had never been published...

As it was, come Monday, 15th September 1997, *GA*'s general editor

NOW WHAT?

At time of writing, the defence case is set to begin and is predicted to run a fortnight. Given the bias of the judge, the conservatism of the jury and the breadth of the conspiracy / incitement laws, one or two of the most conscientious defendants are likely to be convicted. They are most likely to be sent to HMP Winchester initially and should be strongly supported. One ran his own prisoners support network, Earth Liberation Prisoners, for years, so it's looking like time for people to repay the favour.

If there are convictions, a Gandalf-2 trial is almost certain. If the State win their appeal against Robin, a trial involving him and *GA*'s general editor in London in spring 1998 is likely. This time, politically embarrassing material won't be excluded from public scrutiny -- we can think of thirty witnesses off the

THE JURY: Bored out of their tiny minds

many defendants go down. Similarly, the Alternative Media Conference in Oxford last 6-7th September 1997 led to a powerful statement of solidarity pointing out the oppressions borne of the System itself incite resistance, not anything anyone writes, and that as alternative journalists, they will not be intimidated (see appended). So far 300+ groups have signed up and UK's fourth largest party, the Greens, have issued a motion condemning the trial. As well as being an effective rejection of marginalisation, the behaviour of the alternative press contrasts that of the mainstream, which has ignored the Gandalf trial and its implications for them. Understandable, as the state have cowed them already.

It may take more than words to brake the State's juggernaut though. The

bourgeois social contract that demands social peace in exchange for basic rights. Given the choice between the violence of the oppressed and that of the State, many have already chosen conscientiously and more will when they realise the State's attack on us all is so fundamental that the time for fence-sitting is over. We're not telling you to do anything more than you feel comfortable with but we'd suggest you let everyone know about this trial and its implications for all, that you treat anyone using this as a recipe for passive inactivity rather than as a spur to further @ction as a traitor to his / her comrades and the future, and that instead of saying "No comment" when arrested, answer every question "Tim Hepple is an MI5 infiltrator" and see how they handle that in every court in UK...!





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bourgeois social contract that demands social peace in exchange for basic rights. Given the choice between the violence of the oppressed and that of the State, many have already chosen conscientiously and more will when they realise the State's attack on us all is so fundamental that the time for fence-sitting is over. We're not telling you to do anything more than you feel comfortable with but we'd suggest you let everyone know about this trial and its implications for all, that you treat anyone using this as a recipe for passive inactivity rather than as a spur to further @ction as a traitor to his / her comrades and the future, and that instead of saying "No comment" when arrested, answer every question "Tim Hepple is an MI5 infiltrator" and see how they handle that in every court in UK...!

GANDALF IN COURT

We don't want Justice, we want Revolution!

The Gandalf trial affects YOU. It is illegal to associate with 'subversives'. It is illegal to hold views the state does not approve of. It is illegal to repeat news the state does not want known.

The Gandalf trial means we are there now - a totalitarian police state. It confirms all we say about the system. We say bollocks to all this. I'll think what I like, mix with whoever I want to, protest against oppression any way I like, and tell the truth about direct action and protests. Fuck the state.

Only Total Revolution answers the Gandalf prosecution.

M15 AGAINST THE NEW SUPER-POWER

The Gandalf trial is part of the ongoing process to attack the Green movement. Hampshire Thought Police are working hand-in-glove with MI5, for all their talk about a turf war between them. Ever since

head on a stick through the streets. The Gandalf trial is a call to revolution - and we are not talking some bullshit fluffy personal transformation but the violent destruction of authority and the system, Bosnia or Albania style. As the Unabomber said, revolution is easier than reform.

CURSE THE LIBERALS

Gandalf is a test, and the so-called liberal establishment fails. Groups like *The Guardian* and Liberty exist to police the acceptable. They set

would journalists give publicity to the spooks angle. They are all part of the same liberal loop, and the object of the legal system is the suppression of truth.

CONSPIRACY

People who have never met, people who attended the same rally but never spoke, someone who received a 9 second phone call, who bought an ALF tee shirt, people who never knew of each others' existence, are all linked. It is not what you said in that innocent letter, but the fact you wrote

THIS AFFECTS YOU

It is inevitable that techniques and legal shit used in 'Operation Washington Phase 2' will be used against other radical publications or groups. Eventually, if this carries on, all the radical media channels will be rolled up. If you have any interest in freedom, you'd better start protesting against this NOW! Today *Green Anarchist*, tomorrow it could be you...

THE ONLY CURE FOR THE STATE

case papers than most as he wrote the half of them". Despite this, Selwood generously allocated *two days* for the defendant to familiarise himself with 6,000 pages of evidence and as many items of unused! When the defendant contacted Liberty director John Wadham for emergency help, he was kept on hold until Monday morning, when he was supposed to start representing himself. Wadham then

observer he said would be sent to the first fortnight of the trial turned up two mornings only and never even opened his notebook! Part of the liberal establishment like the barrister, he claimed not to know what was wrong with *Searchlight* -- as if the Gable Memo had never been published...

As it was, come Monday, 15th September 1997, *G4*'s general editor

like time for people to repay the favour.

If there are convictions, a Gandalf-2 trial is almost certain. If the State win their appeal against Robin, a trial involving him and *GA*'s general editor in London in spring 1998 is likely. This time, politically embarrassing material won't be excluded from public scrutiny -- we can think of thirty witnesses off the

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STATE ON THE GALLows

The Gandalf trial is not a show trial but one of those invisible farces beloved of totalitarian regimes like Ceausescu's Romania, Enver Hoxha's Albania and Blair's Britain. The objective is to intimidate the movement with hidden, therefore menacing and mysterious threats. Yet inside the court it is mostly boring. Clown Prostitor Onslow reading through letters and leaflets, jury, police and defendants yawning. Yes, it is true the 70-plus 'Operation Washington' raids (Who thinks these stupid code names up?) have had an effect throughout the movement. Some weaklings have quit, but those

still left are more committed in their resolve to smash apart the system.

MI5 AGAINST THE NEW SUPER-POWER

The Gandalf trial is part of the ongoing process to attack the Green movement. Hampshire Thought Police are working hand-in-glove with MI5, for all their talk about a turf war between them. Ever since Twyford in 1992/93, the movement has been growing, at the same time it has been green marker penned in as the new super-power to maintain jobs for the boys and girls after the collapse of the Eastern Bloc. All the technological resources formerly used against communism are now ranged against us Greenies. So we had better start thinking and acting accordingly.

RAISING THE STAKES

The Gandalf trial raises the stakes. If it is illegal to publish anarchist zines then we might as well say bollocks to all that and burn the fucker to the ground anyway. We might as well tear Tony Blair's entrails out. We might as well parade Jack Straw's

head on a stick through the streets. The Gandalf trial is a call to revolution - and we are not talking some bullshit fluffy personal transformation but the violent destruction of authority and the system, Bosnia or Albania style. As the Unabomber said, revolution is easier than reform.

CURSE THE LIBERALS

Gandalf is a test, and the so-called liberal establishment fails. Groups like *The Guardian* and Liberty exist to police the acceptable. They set boundaries and act as censors. When the chips were down, they walked away. Anarchism does not need their permission to exist. They are part of the problem. We have learned the lesson from them. Never trust a liberal. Keep on kicking the useless liberal establishment till it breaks.

MI5 COVER UP

Both prosecution and defence blue-pencilled out all references to *Searchlight*/MI5 and Hepplegate. Despite all our efforts to get it in there, the defence barristers refused to run it. Paul's barrister quit on the 11th September, rather than risk bringing *Searchlight*/MI5 into the dock. All this is normal. Neither

would journalists give publicity to the spooks angle. They are all part of the same liberal loop, and the object of the legal system is the suppression of truth.

CONSPIRACY

People who have never met, people who attended the same rally but never spoke, someone who received a 9 second phone call, who bought an ALF tee shirt, people who never knew of each others' existence; are all linked. It is not what you said in that innocent letter, but the fact you wrote at all. The whole concept of conspiracy depends on guilt by association. Welcome to the police state, suckers!

INCITEMENT

G4 is not responsible for the fact people take action. Animal abuse itself is the reason ALF actions take place. When we report on road protests, our reports are not the cause, the destruction of the countryside by road builders is. Nothing we say forces people into activity. No one is compelled to buy or read *Green Anarchist*. 'Anarchism is about thinking for yourselves' as it said in the *G4* blurb.

THIS AFFECTS YOU

It is inevitable that techniques and legal shit used in 'Operation Washington Phase 2' will be used against other radical publications or groups. Eventually, if this carries on, all the radical media channels will be rolled up. If you have any interest in freedom, you'd better start protesting against this NOW! Today *Green Anarchist*, tomorrow it could be you...

THE ONLY CURE FOR THE STATE

The whole point of the Gandalf prosecution is to intimidate the movement into inactivity. Protesters who do nothing are no threat to the system. So it is important that we refuse to be frightened. They want to silence alternative news so that the only way you can find out things is through their state-controlled media, if at all. The answer here is to carry on reporting the facts. *The truth is no offence!* In the end, it doesn't matter what happens to *G4*. There will be other publications, better theories, better analysis. A zine is just a zine but the revolution is for keeps. Keep on kicking, and together we'll smash civilization yet!

EARTH FIRST!

A MOVEMENT UNDER THREAT

Which way forward for direct action?

Earth First! An exclamation (!) --but what does it mean? This may seem like a silly question, but recent events make it a pertinent one. The name implies the idea of putting the earth first; making the will of the earth the priority in our actions. But somehow we seem to have drifted off from this idea, spending too much time on peripheral social issues. Although these are important, they should (and can) be incorporated into the wider, explicitly Earth First! philosophy. We are living under the illusion that wildness (the thing EF! originally set out to defend) is something 'out there', unconnected with our own day-to-day existence.

Obviously, a domesticated civilisation has to define the wild as "other". It cannot admit the essential wildness of humanity, as then it would have to also admit that it is merely an addition to our life, not the central essential part of it. The slavery and oppression that plagues the majority of humanity is not a symptom of societal anomalies, it is fundamental to civilisation itself. The false division between ourselves and wild nature must be torn down. The false division between 'social' and 'deep' ecology has to be overcome before we can proceed.

So-called deep ecology is not antithetical to social issues, any more than social ecology is to general environmental concerns. The division has arisen because of misunderstanding between the two, exacerbated by the much publicised ramblings of some deranged misanthropes. Strangely, perhaps, the views from the opposite ends of the ecological spectrum both stem from the same mistaken idea that humans are outside of the rest of nature. One extreme regards humans as some

parasitic civilisation.

In this campaign, the fundamental idea of our right to unlimited mobility using energy other than our own is not challenged. Alternative sources of energy are promoted instead, such as electricity for public transport. This presupposes that to be in a situation where you need to travel further than you can walk in half an hour is OK. We understand the problems as a whole, but

this planet's will. Wild actually means 'self-willed' -- the opposite of domesticated. If we work towards liberating ourselves from the domestic and reclaiming the wild within us we will be going in the right direction.

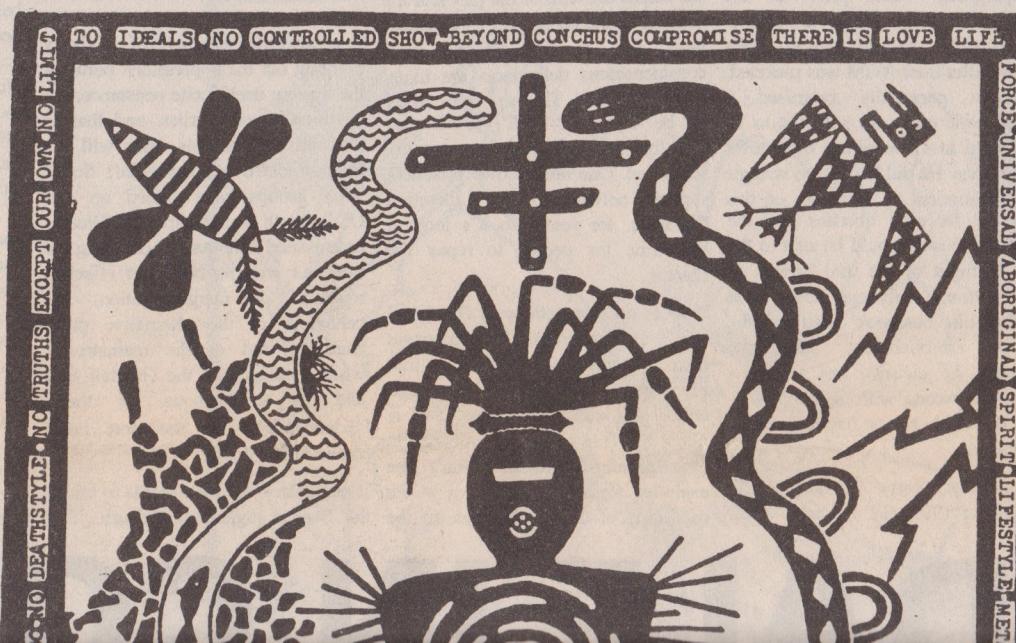
This brings us back to imagination. From within our own fucked up headspace, it is incredibly difficult to know where to even start. It is much easier to follow a familiar path and repeat what we have already learned

The idea that we can learn from the 'indians' has been much discredited because of the stupid hippy wannabees and their modern new-age equivalents, but they are the only working example of a sustainable human culture that we have. We have already established that we don't have the vision to come up with a new idea, so we have no choice really. Detractors point to dubious but entirely plausible evidence that many non-industrial societies of the past caused extinctions and other environmental damage. This is not a reason to ignore totally thousands of different tribal cultures and dismiss them as irrelevant. No doubt there will be difficulties in making a transition to a new way of doing things, but this is no reason to carry on running towards the cliff. Unlike the herd of cattle, there are other options open to us if we can only have the vision to see them and the courage to stand against the herd and shout them out.

As Reggie Perrin once said:

"I hear some uneasy rumblings. I know that you would like to say to me, "What's your alternative, then?". That's rather unfair, you know, to stop me criticising the whole of western society just because I can't suggest a better alternative on my own."

In this brave new world of the dynamic, self-motivated, positive thinking, neurotic sales executive, it has become impossible to point out a problem or criticise a proposed



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We pride ourselves on our imagination. We can envision galactic empires, alternative universes populated by aliens; our literature is full of fantastic visions. Yet somehow they all seem to mirror our own societies. They are all adaptations of what already exists. Only rarely does anyone come up with something truly innovative. It is hardly surprising, then, that we cannot come up with a solution to the problem of how to live in a way that is different enough to be able to sustain life in its present form, an essential prerequisite for our own survival. We seem incapable of imagining anything more than slight modifications to the existing way.

We are also too arrogant to learn from the other cultures that still persist, barely, in the face of the onslaught of progress. The Pygmies (for example) have lived in much the same way for millennia, and they haven't destroyed their world. We don't need to use imagination, only to observe and learn. Instead we choose certain things in such cultures that we don't like, and then use them as an excuse to dismiss the whole thing. Then we continue our search for solutions within our own narrow modus

operando.

It is this kind of thinking that makes it easier to follow a familiar path and repeat what we have already learned

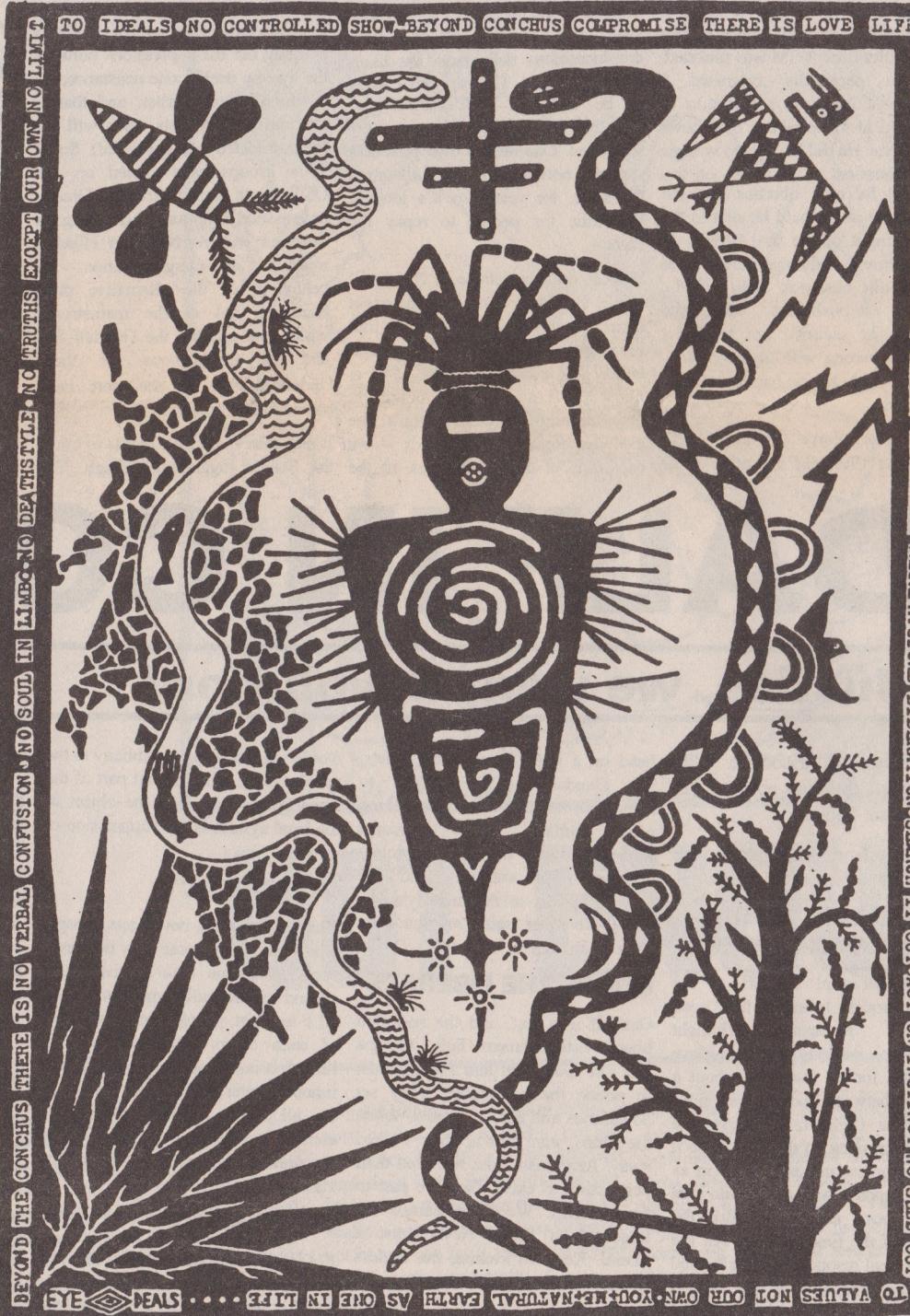
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In this brave new world of the dynamic, self-motivated, positive thinking, neurotic sales executive, it has become impossible to point out a problem or criticise a proposed solution unless you yourself have worked out your own solution beforehand, and have modified your personality sufficiently to be forceful about presenting it. The people who sit quietly in meetings, listening, thinking about what is being said, are perhaps the very people who could find solutions. Unfortunately they are drowned out by those who 'think on their feet'. Everything is so rushed that we don't have time to wait for well thought-out answers. Decisions are made by those who speak up first.

This is not the only way to do things. Many tribal gatherings last as long as it takes to sort things out. Outside of our civilisation, time is viewed differently. If we cannot overcome these limitations within ourselves we will never be able to change the wider picture. If our own way of working cannot change, how can we ever hope to change that of society as a whole? We need to look outside of our own lives for examples on which to model our future course. This way we can avoid reproducing the failings of the system within our own movement. This involves drastic change in our own lives, and a change in priorities. It is not enough to just slot our campaigns and meetings into the existing way we do things; to be an effective force for real change we need to modify those parts of our lives that make it difficult to change the way we ourselves operate.



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This manifests itself in the EF! movement in the way we organise ourselves, and in the things we campaign for. Our gatherings and meetings mirror the current ways in which other parts of our civilisation operate. Our actions concentrate on the issue at hand, in much the same way that



our reductionist science concentrates on parts rather than the whole. Of course, there are good reasons for this. Not many people would be interested in getting involved if we were too 'extreme'. The popularity of the anti-roads movement has grown largely as a result of concentrating on the social impacts of the car and its immediate health effects, as opposed to the essential role roads play in the domination of the planet by our

back off from tackling them for fear that our ideas will not be accepted.

Putting the Earth first means just that, and so we need to find out what that actually entails. Everything apart from us and our slave species is wild. If you leave a piece of land alone for a while you will see explicitly a statement of what the earth wants to do, there is no need to wonder what Earth First! means. Wild nature is the expression of

and feel secure with, than to carve out a new path in an uncertain direction. A single animal in a herd stampeding towards a cliff edge will find it much easier to run forward than to change direction; indeed a change of direction would probably result in being trampled to death by the rest. Fortunately for us though, this analogy is not entirely appropriate. There are many examples of other ways of living for humans, fight here on earth now!

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This is not being presented as a solution. I have no idea what form a solution should take. What I am sure of is that we are currently on a course towards oblivion as a movement, either to be assimilated back into mainstream campaigns groups, or to be lost completely as an irrelevant group with nothing useful to say. We have a very

big task ahead of us, and we need to discuss things fully and completely. There must be no time restrictions on this discussion; the outcome is unknown and there can therefore be no knowing how long it will take. The future of our life on earth is at stake, so there is nothing that can be more important -- no reason why meetings and discussions should be cut short, as this gives advantage back to the assertive individuals and plunges us back into the abberation of blind progress that has got us into this fix in the first place.

We must not only reject the outward physical manifestations of this civilisation -- that is a relatively easy thing to do -- we need to overcome the psychological baggage it has inflicted

upon us as well. Our local group meetings must somehow not have artificial time restrictions placed on them so that we can actually discuss things in depth and come up with ideas for action that have been thoroughly worked out. It is too easy to just do an 'action' against a certain (eg oil) company because of an isolated incident or series of incidents perpetrated by that company. Far harder to put together an action that draws attention to the fact that all oil companies must be stopped, and why.

With this underlying intention it becomes necessary to bring in the whole problem in each campaign. Opposing the oil industry means taking into account the fact that the whole of

our civilisation is utterly dependent on it. Issues such as industrial agriculture, marine pollution, third world domination and exploitation, militarism, human rights, animal rights and an almost endless list of other problems are all interconnected in a hopelessly tangled web. To effectively challenge one is to challenge them all.

If we ignore the big picture and just concentrate on easy to understand single issues, we may gain much needed support in the short term, but the solutions that are offered if we are successful in drawing attention and forcing governmental action will only address the immediate issues, since we never mentioned the whole thing. We end up back where we started, with no

real progress, just short term solutions to the worst symptoms of the problem.

We regard ourselves as a radical movement, but in reality we back away from the contentious issues. We follow the line of least resistance and allow civilisation to dictate our course. We back away from confrontation, and try to fit in difficult and complex arguments with the current obsession with slick sound bites. Our campaigns and publicity mirror the superficial crap that the mainstream media have conditioned people to expect.

A truly radical movement would dare to be different, would have the courage to say and do what needs to be said and done, regardless of whether we would gain popularity and approval. Modern

society is used to instant gratification. The fact that this gratification doesn't last long and has to be topped up continually is the main reason we are destroying our world. We can never overcome this malaise by pandering to it. A building with foundations takes longer to build, but without them it won't last long. Building an effective movement that can challenge our civilisation needs a different approach right from the word go. It is a difficult path to take. It isn't a simple matter of FoE but with fewer baths and a different hairstyle.

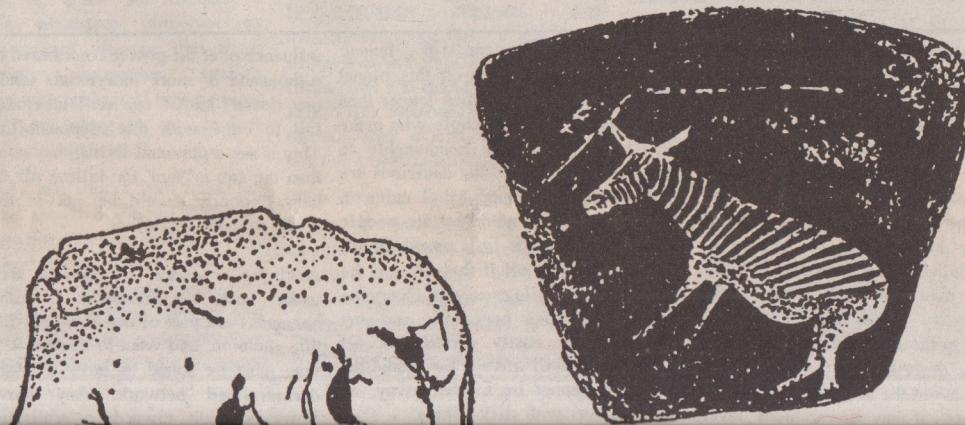
The first thing we must do is decide what it is we are for and against. Until this is sorted out we will just be a vague and largely irrelevant nuisance.

DIS/ORGANISATION

Are mass campaigns really the way forward?

Aside from philosophical debates about the ultimate aims of the radical ecological movement stands the important issue of organisation. Regardless of whether the movement decides to overthrow the entirety of Civilisation or opts for a more realistic goal it is still vital that an overhaul of the way that it works takes place. This need be for no other reason than to improve its effectiveness.

From a personal viewpoint it appears that a great many individuals are at present attempting to build a mass revolutionary movement on a national and even international scale. Examples of this lie with street parties being undertaken in the national arena such as London and with many activists travelling abroad to similar events. There has also been a remarkable increase in the number of "national" actions. These things are important as they represent one way of helping to bring down any dominant system / culture yet at the immediate time it may be that we are simply not ready to be building a movement on such scale.



regular transport, communication and the like then the effectiveness of the movement would be far improved. In the same way that the hunt sabs have regular days out with specific hunts EF! could continually target ecologically unsound enemies and when something larger was anticipated, a phone around

national mobilisations. Can you imagine the fear of industrial companies if it became reality that they were hit with the same regularity and militancy of hunts? Six vans of masked up eco sabs descending on a site without warning would be enough to send shivers down the spines of even the most obsessed

decide how far it is collectively willing to go, in the same way as some hunt sab groups advocate criminal damage to vehicles and others don't. At the same time however, the basic philosophy, ie: eco sabbing as an end in itself, will be there in all groups.

The argument here is not that widespread eco sabbing will bring about change overnight but that it will at least ensure that when the time comes for huge national "hits" they will be explicitly about putting the Earth First (!) and not about supporting some ecologically questionable workers! It is not that these causes are unworthy in their own right, just that they shouldn't be under the EF! banner. There are more than enough crucial global issues occurring without taking on less relevant campaigns which are already well subscribed and organised shitheads.

We at this stage should be seeing ourselves as something along the lines of the World War Two resistance fighters, not a mass revolutionary collective doing all we can to

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Every time thousands of people come together in London for a national rally how many countless acts of ecological destruction are taking place on a local level all around the country? We may get the impression that we have huge support simply because of the sheer number of people who turn up to national mobilisations. How many of those individuals return home (if indeed they have one!) and undertake a local action?

The point here is that we must get the local level of campaigning and action sorted before we worry too much about national and international events. If we fail to do this we will continue to kid ourselves that we are a mass movement when in reality we are still only a few.

If we are to build up an effective local based Earth First! / Green Anarchist movement we must first address upon

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We at this stage should be seeing ourselves as something along the lines of the World War Two resistance fighters, not a mass revolutionary collective, doing all we can to undermine the occupiers (ie Industry) whilst waiting and persuading others to join or aid us as they become aware of the plight--in this case of the entire planet. As long as we as a movement continue to let people know what we are really about through publications, press work and other forms of outreach, and how important green (and I stress green) issues are and how industrial madness must end there is still some hope for the planet. If, however, we continue to play around and tag on to the social issue of the day (remember Liverpool and the March for Social Justice in London--how much of the media coverage really centered on Earth First! or Green Anarchists? and how quick were the dockers to denounce us for the violence²) at best we will achieve a half-baked revolution which will simply end up



hardly helpful to any call for an all out attack on industrial society. Rather it is counterproductive because it has diluted the fundamental Earth First! philosophy with peripheral social issues which have little to do with

of regional groups the night before could bring in the required numbers to handle the target. Obviously there are differences between hunt sabbing and eco sabbing but a replication of their tactics would be a good start to

earth raper!

As well as increasing the overall successes of the Earth First! movement this type of approach would ensure that as more and more people became involved they would be under no

that a great many individuals are at present attempting to build a mass revolutionary movement on a national and even international scale. Examples of this lie with street parties being undertaken in the national arena such as London and with many activists travelling abroad to similar events. There has also been a remarkable increase in the number of "national" actions. These things are important as they represent one way of helping to bring down any dominant system / culture yet at the immediate time it may be that we are simply not ready to be building a movement on such scale.

Every time thousands of people come together in London for a national rally how many countless acts of ecological destruction are taking place on a local level all around the country? We may get the impression that we have huge support simply because of the sheer number of people who turn up to national mobilisations. How many of those individuals return home (if indeed they have one!) and undertake a local action?

The point here is that we must get the local level of campaigning and action sorted before we worry too much about national and international events. If we fail to do this we will continue to kid ourselves that we are a mass movement when in reality we are still only a few.

If we are to build up an effective local based Earth First! / Green Anarchist movement we must first address upon who or what (if anything) we are to model ourselves. The current trend seems to be to base ourselves on the all too familiar "mass mob in the streets" model yet once again we are kidding ourselves if we think we have anywhere near the number of people to carry out a successful revolution in this manner¹. Even if we were successful in bringing about huge change it would at present be at the cost of our radical green ideals.

Reclaim The Streets provides an excellent example of how a philosophy has become washed out in order to grow larger; after all linking up with

striking workers in order to boost numbers or whatever is hardly what the movement set out to achieve. Although the group may have encouraged direct action and caused considerable disruption, moving from a radical green stance to a social justice mission is

wilderness defence and true freedom.

A better model to base ourselves on could be the hunt saboteurs. As suggested in Do or Die 6 p141 if every EF! group in the country had access to

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building up local networks. This kind of approach would also be more likely to bring in new people because it would be regular action rather than occasional local events and the twice yearly

illusions as to the radical philosophy of Earth First!ers and why they are there. It will no longer be necessary to water down the issues to bring in more people because each autonomous group will



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FOOTNOTES

¹ It must be pointed out that revolutions in the past which have been brought about by these methods have not ever succeeded in bringing about long-lasting change.

² Most of those involved didn't see it, but on that evening's main news, immediately after the scenes of confrontation, an official spokesperson for the dockers unequivocally condemned the "eco-fringe element" for sparking off the alleged riot.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LOCAL OVER THE NATIONAL

Is Earth First! getting its priorities wrong?

One issue which has attracted considerable debate in recent months is whether a number of individuals are becoming central to everything that the Earth First! network does. As one activist put it "are informal hierarchies developing within the supposedly anarchist green movement?"

It is difficult to ascertain whether or not this is the case as all those involved in creating the direct action movement are working as best they can and indeed may not realise the tremendous influence, for good or bad, that they are having over other less assertive elements and individuals. Regardless of whether or not people perceive this to be a problem now, it is important that its implications are discussed so that they may be avoided in the future. Once again the debate centers around the national and the local arenas.

It is obvious from the comments of many frontline activists that they feel disconnected from the Earth First! movement. For example, at the A30 Fairmile camp we heard that a group of EF!ers arrived and proceeded to inspect the defences in a manner not unlike a colonel inspecting the troops. This definitely reinforced the divide that is growing between those in the towns and those on the camps. This is not an isolated incident. In South Wales recently, a large number of people were

more brainpower (aahh!) than us will write and reply in the next issue...

WHY TRIBALISM MAY BE PART OF THE ANSWER

One reason why tribalism has been such

powers. It is a fundamental part of our nature to look after our friends, and this is a good trait within our normal existence. Put in the unnatural situation of a henhouse, a fox will try to kill all the hens. Similarly, in a position of

From the moment of our birth we are indoctrinated with the values of this sick civilisation. Hence, any solution to the problem will not be easy to find, but some idea can be got from the way those not within our culture organise themselves. This means finding out about tribalism. Not the kind of technotribalism that is becoming a saleable commodity recently, but a real effort to understand an alien way of operating and living.

But we need to do something right now to remedy the situation too. Some suggestions appear elsewhere in this section, and hopefully a debate will ensue from this.

The current 'tribalism' that is to be found in the UK is merely a form of entertainment that has been tacked on to a general "we're fucked off and we expect 'them' to sort it out for us" subculture of failed university students. The radical ecological movement has somehow become a repository for every disaffected misfit, when it should really be just radical green disaffected misfits. Unless we can rise above this and assert loudly what we are, Earth First! will soon just become a name on a T-shirt. A commodified fashion accessory.

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In many tribal cultures, policy is directly made by the people themselves

This small group actually saved the day by pulling together a good action in the midst of a shambles. Were it not for them probably nothing at all would have happened. This is an inevitable scenario if we continue to organise large national actions in the way we have done up to now. These problems highlight the fact that we should be concentrating on local action initially, rather than striving for huge revolutionary events immediately. By working in the decentralised manner of eco sabs described in the last section we will avoid the need for and thus the

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influence over the power contributed by a thousand or more individuals whom one doesn't know, one will inevitably fail to cope with that responsibility. This is not a personal failing, any more than the fox is 'bad' for killing all the hens. Nobody should be put in that situation in the first place.

A clique or cadre is bound to arise under such circumstances. I know because I am part of one. I do not like this situation, and want to change it. A way must be found to have a totally decentralised network. Any move,

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MZWANDILE MLAMBIO 1867

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A BASIC CALL TO CONSCIOUSNESS

Extracts from the Hau de no sau nee [Iroquois] Address to the Western World, 1977

"In the beginning we were told that the human beings who walk about on the Earth have been provided with all the things necessary for life. We were instructed to carry a love for one another, and to show a great respect for all the beings of this Earth. We were shown that our life exists with the tree life, that our well-being depends on the well-being of the Vegetable Life, that we are close relatives of the four-legged beings."

*

"The original instructions direct that we who walk about on Earth are to express a great respect, an affection and a gratitude toward all the spirits which create and support Life. . . . When people cease to respect and express gratitude for these many things, then all life will be destroyed, and human life on this planet will come to an end. . . . The majority of the world does not find its roots in Western culture or tradition. The majority of the world finds its roots in the Natural World, and it is the Natural World, and the traditions of the Natural World, which must prevail."

*

"We must all consciously and continuously challenge every model, every program, and every process that the West tries to force upon us. . . . The people who are living on this planet need to break with the narrow concept of human liberation, and begin to see liberation as something that needs to be extended to the whole of the Natural World. What is needed is the liberation of all things that support Life: the air, the waters, the trees, all the things

which support the sacred web of Life. The Native people of the Western Hemisphere can contribute to the survival potential of the human species. The majority of our peoples still live in accordance with the traditions which find their roots in the Mother Earth. But the native people have need of a forum in which our voice can be heard. And we need alliances with the other people of the world to assist in our struggle to regain and maintain our ancestral lands and to protect the Way of Life we follow. The traditional Native people hold the key to the reversal of the processes in Western Civilization,

which hold the promise of unimaginable future suffering and destruction. Spiritualism is the highest form of political consciousness. And we, the Native people of the Western Hemisphere, are among the world's surviving proprietors of that kind of consciousness. . . . Our culture is among the most ancient continuously existing cultures in the world. We are the spiritual guardians of this place. We are here to impart that message."

*

EARTH FIRST! AND ECOFASCISM

EF! needs to get its act together after the last Gathering

Ecofascism is a big problem for EF! Germany. It's been used to shut them down, to justify attacks on their A30 camp, and to stigmatise Greens generally. It's not that they're fascists, just that they're Greens. Anti-fascist organising amongst Leftists is always a sign their own politics is clapped-out. Who better to attack than the Greens superseding them?

ECOFASCISM IN GERMANY

Leftists have labeled the Greens 'fascists' to mobilise German antifa, but the way they did so shows up antifa as ignorant of international events and devoid of critical faculties. Amongst militant Greens in Germany are Frontline and Hardline, straightedgers out of the US punk and German anti-nuclear milieus who've been criticised for their anti-gay and pro-life stances. This wasn't the position of those that formed EF! Germany, though they were militant vegans. *Searchlight's* Graham Atkinson drew attention to a fascist vegan group in UK, the Patriotic Vegan / Vegetarian Society (PV/VS), arguing not just that EF! Germany but all vegans, even all Greens, were fascists. This takes 'guilt by association' to a ridiculous extreme and shows how gullible German antifa are. If they'd any awareness of international developments, they'd know *Searchlight's* links to the British secret state have been public knowledge ever since Duncan Campbell published the Gable Memorandum in the *New Statesman* in 1980 and that British AFA repudiated *Searchlight* following the 1993 *The Human Rights* in 1993.

ecofeminism and 'ecofascism' in Germany. Guided by this sectarian nonsense, antifa argued any manifestation of the "esoteric" was fascist and felt justified in attacking Hardline because they used Runic letters on one item of publicity material! As the editor of EF!

social order and a fascist one, rather than how to safely distance one from the other. Adopting a position so critical of the existing order would not suit anti-fascist purposes which, as Jean Barrot points out in *Fascism / Anti-Fascism*, are fundamentally about winning popular support by defending it from external threats, rather than being that threat as authentic revolutionaries.

We've seen antifa's actions have been as poorly thought-through as their far Right opponents'. This did nothing to save EF! Germany from physical attack and political marginalisation. From the

to the UK movement but to comrades overseas to prevent fascist infiltration of EF!UK and to counter ecofascist smears.

ECO-FASCISM AT THE GATHERING

To facilitate this, *Open Eye's* John Murray hosted a workshop on ecofascism at the 1997 EF! Gathering. Sadly, this did much to show how vulnerable to fascist infiltration EF!UK is and how far it is from being a truly revolutionary movement. Irrelevant to the general discussion, one old boy

was decided the one on ecofascism continue outside. As it reconvened, the old boy buttonholed a Jewish woman who'd joined the workshop late and repeated what he'd said about this "90 year old Jew" advocating fascism, adding that he thought fascists should be "brought along" to events like the EF! Gathering to get them involved. She was upset by this unpleasant and unexpected encounter and appealed to others at the workshop for support. The old boy was asked what he meant by his remarks about the "90 year old Jew" and he named the guy as the organiser of the 1936 battle of Cable Street against Moseley's Blackshirts and said the fascism he advocated was "in the Italian model". It was thought highly unlikely such an individual would ever support fascism, problematic that the old boy would want to associate with him if he did, and indicative in both cases that the old boy himself supported fascism and was using this dubious Jewish testimonial to bolster his own position and to bait anti-fascists and Jewish people. When asked if he was an anti-Semitic, the old boy evasively said he'd made no statements against Arabs - as if Jewish people aren't Semites and as if anti-Semitism isn't usually taken to mean anti-Jewish sentiment. He added there were "Jewish fascists, Negro fascists, Chinese fascists" as if this justified fascism and by doing so, demonstrated his fixation on race. Asked if he was racist, he agreed, specifying that as a Welshman, he was anti-English. He



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The Greens have also been attacked through the social ecology journal *EcoLink*, which takes Murray Bookchin's line that Greens finding municipalism and rationality problematic are intrinsically fascist. Bookchin's *Which Way For the Ecology Movement?* rubbish deep ecologists in EF!USA in 1990 but he got a bloody nose trying to do the same

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Ecofascism workshop participants agreed with Gathering facilitators that discussion of the exclusion shouldn't disrupt other Gathering business or 'create a bad atmosphere' but what this meant in practice was that the facilitators didn't want the exclusion discussed at all. It took the threat of it being raised in a general meeting for the facilitators to set aside time and space

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The Greens have also been attacked through the social ecology journal *EcoLink*, which takes Murray Bookchin's line that Greens finding municipalism and rationality problematic are intrinsically fascist. Bookchin's *Which Way For the Ecology Movement?* rubbished deep ecologists in EF!USA in 1990 but he got a bloody nose trying to do the same to anarcho-primitivists with his 1996 polemic, *Social Anarchism Versus Lifestyle Anarchism: An Unbridgeable Chasm* (see David Watson's *Beyond Bookchin and Bob Black's Anarchy After Leftism* for rebuttals). Bookchin, Biehl and their antifa dupes are likely most disturbed by this as it shows what's common between the existing



Germany's journal, *The Owl*, has pointed out, no less a thinker than the Frankfurt School's Theodore Adorno has argued in his *Dialectics of the Enlightenment* that the rational components of fascism are much more dangerous--even more characteristic--than the irrational ones. Bookchin, Biehl and their antifa dupes are likely most disturbed by this as it shows what's common between the existing

start, ecofascist smears have been thrown at EF!UK, firstly those originating with the FBI around the 1990 EF!USA split and then home-grown ones such as those linking EF!UK to Patrick Harrington's Green Wave and Richard Hunt's *Alternative Green* that were to form the follow-up to John Harlow's notorious 1994 *Summer of Hate* article in the *Sunday Times*. We've a responsibility not just

announced he "knew a Jew who towards the end of his life said that fascism was a necessity". He continued contributing oddball comments to the workshop, claiming Jewish millionaire and convicted rapist Owen Oysten "funded *Searchlight*" and that "income tax is fascist". He left when it became clear he wasn't being taken seriously.

With the start of another workshop, it

old boy would vainly associate with him if he did, and indicative in both cases that the old boy himself supported fascism and was using this dubious Jewish testimonial to bolster his own position and to bait anti-fascists and Jewish people. When asked if he was an anti-Semite, the old boy evasively said he'd made no statements against Arabs - as if Jewish people aren't Semites and as if anti-Semitism isn't usually taken to mean anti-Jewish sentiment. He added there were "Jewish fascists, Negro fascists, Chinese fascists" as if this justified fascism and by doing so, demonstrated his fixation on race. Asked if he was racist, he agreed, specifying that as a Welshman, he was anti-English. He wouldn't modify his position when Jim Paton, of Scottish heritage, asked him to distinguish between English colonialists and the generality of English people. Instead he attacked expressions of Scots identity as "mystical nationalism fascism". When told by the workshop that his views were abhorrent, he wouldn't apologise and so was told to leave the group. All agreed he didn't appear to represent any specific fascist tendency and even to be in full possession of his faculties but he certainly had a racist world view and appeared to have a sophisticated knowledge of fascism. It was agreed people on-site be warned against him and, on the insistence of the woman he'd upset, that the group should press for him to be excluded from site. It was felt important that such an exclusion should have the broadest public agreement to show EF! as a whole's disapproval of and disassociation from racist / fascist attitudes.

Ecofascism workshop participants agreed with Gathering facilitators that discussion of the exclusion shouldn't disrupt other Gathering business or 'create a bad atmosphere' but what this meant in practice was that the facilitators didn't want the exclusion discussed at all. It took the threat of it being raised in a general meeting for the facilitators to set aside time and space for the hearing. It's not that they had any sympathy for racism or fascism, just that they thought doing something about racist / fascist infiltration of EF! was of such low priority that it could be expediently ignored.

When the hearing was announced, no mention was made of who was

involved or the reasons for it. Whilst those that attended the ecofascism workshop hadn't discussed details with anyone beyond facilitators in a principled attempt not to prejudice the hearing, the old boy's supporters had been organising across the site. Some approaching ecofascism workshop participants trying to guilt-trip them into "not putting a poor, confused old man on trial" whilst others ran along the dinner queue and from tent to tent urging people to "come along and defend F---". There were even moves to physically obstruct his exclusion. None of this was presented as the defence of a racist / fascist, what he was found to be by the ecofascism workshop. He was mispresented as the innocent victim of PC police gone mad and the issue to be either a complex question around nationalism or simple matter of racist abuse.

Over thirty attended the exclusion hearing, only a few from the original ecofascism workshop and a lot from Rainbow Circle. The latter seemed determined to treat it all as a personal dispute between accuser and accused, positioning themselves around them as 'comforters' and offering mediation. This confused facilitators, who clearly didn't know the purpose and procedure of the hearing until someone from the ecofascism workshop had to explain towards its end. First heard were the woman and the old boy. She made it quite clear the issue was political, not personal, and that EF! must decide how to best deal with a fascist / racist amongst them, not to attempt mediation between individuals. Despite this, the old boy opened by offering personal apologies, lying that he'd offered them at the workshop too. Suspiciously more articulate at the hearing than the preceding workshop, he now claimed to be "shocked" by the comments of the

Cable Street veteran-turned-fascist and also claimed he'd heard the tittle-tattle about Ronson funding *Searchlight* through him when John Murray pointed out how it conformed to traditional anti-Jewish ethnic libels. Both the woman and Murray were given little further opportunity to explain background information of this type despite calls from those attending the meeting that they were in need of it ("we need an ecofascism workshop") as they were silenced by the facilitator who demanded an account be given of the ecofascism workshop without the elaboration necessary to understand it. Having created an atmosphere where people were told the issues were "too complex to be judged here", the old boy's supporters then argued that there was "nothing wrong" with making statements about a Jew-turned-fascist.

The old boy defended himself by calling character witnesses rather than answering questions put him. People flooded in as the woman made her opening statement, but were prevented from entering as the old boy made his in case it was "distracting". His supporters then had the gall to say his witnesses were being denied access to the hearing! The old boy's son said his mother was of Chinese heritage. If "issues of race are constantly talked about in our household", why did the old boy continue to use such archaic terms as "Jew" and "Negro"? Why had he told the world at an earlier workshop his wife had left him as she found the atmosphere in their common home intolerable? And wasn't it irrelevant to whether he'd made racist / fascist remarks in this case, anyway? Someone from Cardiff AFA and from Selar said that he'd never made questionable remarks around them. Given the general ignorance of sophisticated anti-Semitism in the hearing, we doubt they'd even

recognise such comments. The effect of these testimonies was to imply the old boy's accuser was "over-sensitive" and even making false accusations, even though all at the ecofascism workshop had heard the old boy say this stuff or stuff like it and he made little effort to even deny it. John Murray spoke out again to indicate this was a classic Jew-baiting technique - winding up an isolated Jewish person and then present them as 'paranoid' when they complaining to others. The old boy illustrated this with a technique akin to it, apologising for saying "nigger", even though he never did in the workshop and hadn't been accused of doing so. His intention, presumably, was to provoke complaints about his using the epithet so he could then claim its use was innocent and they were "over-sensitive", just as the Jewish woman had been about his original remarks.

Even though she stressed she wasn't much preoccupied by her Jewishness and saw the old boy as a *political* threat to EF! rather than a *physical* threat to herself, Rainbow Circle people chose to treat her a 'person with problems'. After speaking in favour of the old boy, her 'comforters' were first to insist her hurt be healed by mediation and her political demands forgotten. By refusing this, she was made to appear fucked up and, indeed, this betrayal by her self-appointed 'supporters' distressed her. The meeting closed with the facilitator being unable to take the pressure such emotional upset caused him.

A last minute compromise, consisting of the old boy making a statement denouncing racism and fascism and his accuser being thrown the sop of praise for bringing a complaint so ill-received, was unsatisfactory. It provided minimum cover for EF!'s arse should the old boy continued to act in a

racist / fascist manner in future, but there was nothing to ensure the sincerity of his statement and it had a "Sorry, but you Jews..." tone to it.

RIPE FOR INFILTRATION

Had this incident ended there, it would have been bad enough. EF!s been shown to be too politically illiterate and unwilling to deal with political conflict to cope with an upfront racist / fascist, let alone infiltrators concealing their ideological affiliations.

But it didn't end there. Leaving the hearing early in disgust, John Murray was berated by two individuals, an encounter hat almost came to blows. He was told that the woman complainant was "over-sensitive" and "as a Jew myself, the worst I've encountered has been just like the racism encountered by everyone else". The speaker meant crude working class racist stereotyping rather than sophisticated ethnic libels--the sort of treatment meted out to the woman concerned--and readily admitted to holding to anti-Masonic conspiracy theory himself, even though this has direct links to the anti-Jewish variants (see Nestor Webster's *History of the Secret Societies*). Others approached ecofascism workshop participants insisting "If fascists were trying to stop trees being cut down, I'd stand by them", then noting their past involvement in far-Right street activity. There's nothing more stupid than baiting ex-fascists, but people need to come to terms with their past a little more coherently than this to participate in a movement that should be about overcoming all hierarchical social relations.

Ignorant racists can be put right if the facts are put to them--to a certain extent EF! must do this to become a popular movement, confronting the racist

assumptions that suffuse this society--but this is not the most appropriate way of dealing with confirmed and sophisticated fascists. They need to be isolated and denied any opportunity to organise politically, so a education- or mediation-based approach is utterly inappropriate. Most worrying was an earlier workshop facilitated by John Murray to smoke out conspiracists at the Gathering. Of thirty attending, a third held to Icke-like conspiracy theory and many of these came to the old boy's hearing. This suggests a degree of organisation between them within the bounds of the Gathering. EF!'s failure to deal with this has led Murray, as a principal opponent of Icke, to disassociate himself from EF!.

It's been argued that the events at this year's Gathering were a one-off, that EF! will have formulated coherent anti-fascist policy by next time. We hope so but the usual procedures that operate in anti-fascist circles were advanced by the ecofascist workshop this year and found to be unworkable. The main reason for this were EF!'s inability to deal with political problems. Plenty of 'warm words' were offered at all stages of the last incident--facilitators prepared to throw fascists off-site but who thought agreeing policy to achieve it would be "disruptive", statements at the hearing that a fascist's presence amongst us was unacceptable as a substitute for excluding a fascist actually amongst us, and violence threatened not to the fascist but to those that exposed him--but that's meaningless without the will and knowledge to act. An explicit anti-fascist analysis is needed in EF! to take it beyond simple environmentalism and into a broad-based, revolutionary social change movement.

ARTICLES

TEMPORARY

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TEMPORARY AUTONOMOUS ZONES

Alder Valley Anarchists on making anarchy now

At a time when cops are raiding anarchists, animal libbers and Greens for their involvement in the movement, maybe its time to escape or 'disappear' from the alienation of too late Capitalism and the idiot gazr of the media. People who've lived at road proters, squats or on the road already know, whether they realise it or not, the joy of the Temporary Autonomous Zone. However short-lived, TAZ's are a space in time liberated from Leviathan abnd of course oppose it too.

A place to meet face-to-face with likeminded people is not only desirable but also necessary for the creation of a

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A place to meet face-to-face with likeminded people is not only desirable but also necessary for the creation of a better world and in my opinion the TAZ is our best wy of achieving our aims. Though the insurrection in Chiapas and their onoing activities shouls be of great interest for those of that opinion, but again the insurrection was by peasants, not the urban working class, Revolution on the Periphery as Green Anaerologists put it. In my opinion, in the developed world countriesd, a sghdown with the Staste would just lead to annihilation. Let's not forget the people we're up against are trained killers and most of us have never held a gun, lety alone fired one.

Groups like MOVE in Philadelphia or Exidus in Luton have proved to be a thorn in the side of the powers that be but we sghould wisdnj to avoid the hassles these hroups have faced. The

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What we need is ourt own space, whether a co-op or squat or anarqvist desert island, anywhere wghere we can create an organic, Green, natural, wild commune where we can be in touch wuth orselves and the planet we liveon and avoid the alienation and loneliness of mass society, our lives in our own hands again. What are we going to do about it?

A TAZ is the best way of turning the world upsidedown and great preparation to make sure it doesn't right itself again

mass media should be avboided like the plague. We don't need our 15 minutes of fame to justify our excistence. We're doing this to liberate ourselves from the world we hate not some ego trip. It's true we as anarqvists are now the only opposition to the New World Order since the death of the '2nd World' and 'Communism', though I still believe that TAZ's and secret autonomous groyoops are the way forward and we

way of turning the world upsidedown and great preparation to make sure it doesn't right itself again. Its about Anarchy now.

We can creare a community or communite, but not as Green Anaerologists. The paper has showbn open membership is very dangerous, what with police agents like Tim Hepple (now Matthews) and Ray Hill or

economy of self-sufficiency and crafts is possible. I know of a TAZ who survivbe from printing. What better way to ensure GA's survival by producing it yurself, avoiding printers, which was how two ofg the Gandalf defendants got caught so quickly and to provide a source of income for other activists?

Let's face it, when the oil runs out, the sghit's really going tyo hit the fan, wth a

WAS CIVILISATION A MISTAKE?

Robert Heinberg's critique of Civilisation

PROLOGUE

Having been chosen--whether as devil's advocate or sacrificial lamb, I am not sure--to lead off this discussion on the question, "Was Civilization a Mistake?", I would like to offer some preliminary thoughts.

From the viewpoint of any non-civilized person, this consideration would appear to be steeped in irony. Here we are, after all, some of the most civilized people on the planet, discussing in the most civilized way imaginable whether civilization itself might be an error. Most of our fellow civilians would likely find our discussion, in addition to being ironic, also disturbing and pointless: after all, what person who has grown up with cars, electricity, and television would relish the idea of living without a house, and of surviving only on wild foods?

Nevertheless, despite the possibility that at least some of our remarks may be ironic, disturbing, and pointless, here we are. Why? I can only speak for myself. In my own intellectual development I have found that a critique of civilization is virtually inescapable for two reasons.

The first has to do with certain deeply disturbing trends in the modern world. We are, it seems, killing the planet. Revisionist "wise use" advocates tell us there is nothing to worry about; dangers to the environment, they say, have been wildly exaggerated. To me this is the most blatant form of wishful thinking. By most estimates, the oceans are dying, the human population is expanding far beyond the long-term carrying capacity of the land, the ozone layer is disappearing, and the global climate is showing worrisome signs of instability. Unless drastic steps are taken, in fifty years the vast majority of the world's population

murder, or the ecological equivalents, we try to ignore the news so as not to have to face an intolerable double bind.

Since our present civilization is patently ecologically unsustainable in its present form, it follows that our descendants will be living very differently in a few decades, whether their new way of life arises by conscious choice or by default. If humankind is to choose its path deliberately, I believe that our deliberations should include a critique of civilization itself, such as we are undertaking here. The question implicit in such a critique is, What

innocence is at the heart of all the world's religions, is one of the most powerful themes in the history of human thought, and is the earliest and most characteristic expression of primitivism--the perennial belief in the necessity of a return to origins.

As a philosophical idea, primitivism has had as its proponents Lao Tze, Rousseau, and Thoreau, as well as most of the pre-Socratics, the medieval Jewish and Christian theologians, and 19th- and 20th-century anarchist social theorists, all of whom argued (on different bases and in different ways) the superiority of a simple life close to nature. More

the ecological integrity of the planet, primitivism has enjoyed a popular resurgence, by way of increasing interest in shamanism, tribal customs, herbalism, radical environmentalism, and natural foods. There is a widespread (though by no means universally shared) sentiment that civilization has gone too far in its domination of nature, and that in order to survive--or, at least, to live with satisfaction--we must regain some of the spontaneity and naturalness of our early ancestors.

WHAT IS CIVILIZATION? There are many possible definitions of the word civilization. Its derivation--from *civis*,

"town" or "city"--suggests that a minimum definition would be, "urban culture." Civilization also seems to imply writing, division of labor, agriculture, organized warfare, growth of population, and social stratification.

Yet the latest evidence calls into question the idea that these traits always go together. For example, Elizabeth Stone and Paul Zimansky's assessment of power relations in the Mesopotamian city of Maskan-shapir (published in the April 1995 *Scientific American*) suggests that urban culture need not imply class divisions. Their findings seem to show that civilization in its earliest phase was free of these. Still, for the most part the history of civilization in the Near East, the Far East, and Central America is also the history of



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Now, it can be argued that civilization per se is not at fault, that the problems we face have to do with unique economic and historical circumstances. But we should at least consider the possibility that our modern industrial system represents the flowering of tendencies that go back quite far. This, at any rate, is the implication of recent assessments of the ecological ruin left in the wake of the Roman, Mesopotamian, Chinese, and other prior civilizations. Are we perhaps repeating their errors on a gargantuan scale?

If my first reason for criticizing civilization has to do with its effects on the environment, the second has to do with its impact on human beings. As civilized people, we are also domesticated. We are to primitive

addicted to a powerful drug--a drug that comes in the forms of money, factory-made goods, oil, and electricity. We are helpless without

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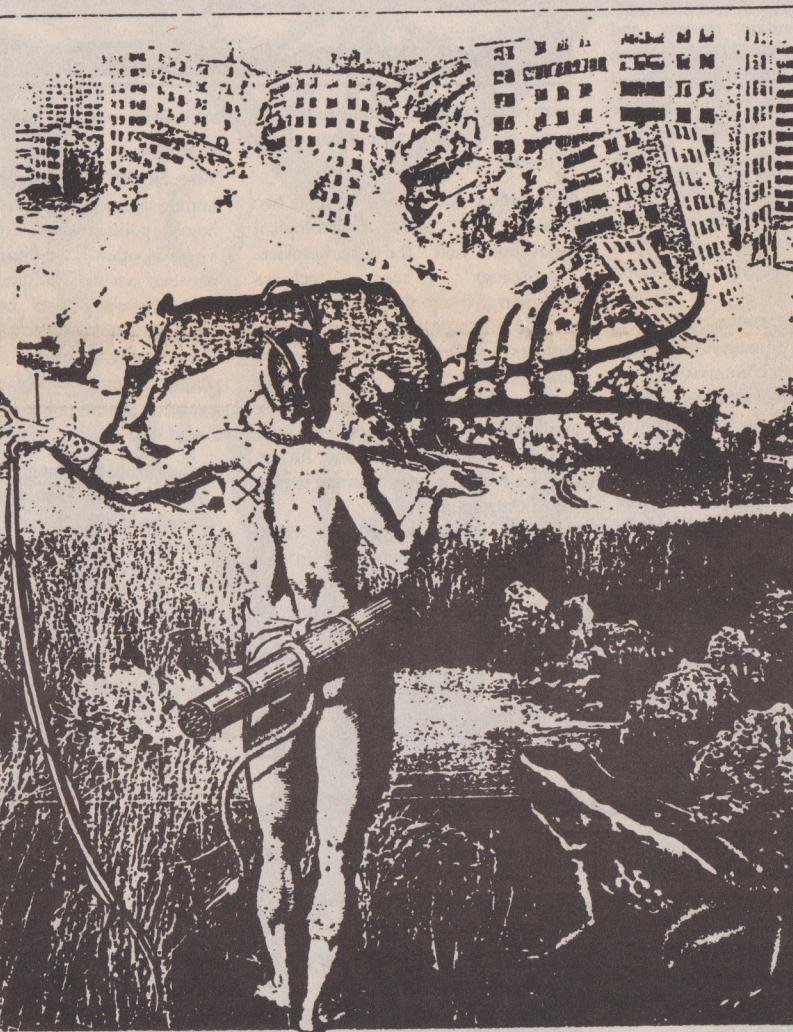
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Perhaps, if some of these undesirable traits were absent from the very first cities, I should focus my critique on "Empire Culture" instead of the broader target of "civilization." However, given how little we still know about the earliest urban centers of the Neolithic era, it is difficult as yet to draw a clear distinction



James Koenig

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Many primal peoples tend to view us as pitiful creatures, too--though powerful and dangerous because of our technology and sheer numbers. They regard civilization as a sort of social disease. We civilized people appear to act as though we were



this drug, so we have come to see any threat to its supply as a threat to our very existence. Therefore we are easily manipulated--by desire (for more) or fear (that what we have will be taken away)--and powerful

have we done poorly or thoughtlessly in the past that we can do better now? It is in this constructive spirit that I offer the comments that follow.

recently, many anthropologists have expressed admiration for the spiritual and material advantages of the ways of life of the world's most "primitive" societies--the surviving gathering-and-hunting peoples who now make

As civilised people ... we are to primitive people as cows and sheep are to bears and eagles.

commercial and political interests have learned to orchestrate our desires and fears in order to achieve their own purposes of profit and control. If told that the production of our drug involves slavery, stealing, and

CIVILIZATION AND PRIMITIVISM

WHAT IS PRIMITIVISM? The image of a lost Golden Age of freedom and

up less than one hundredth of one percent of the world's population.

Meanwhile, as civilization approaches a crisis precipitated by overpopulation and the destruction of

growth of population, and social stratification.

Yet the latest evidence calls into question the idea that these traits always go together. For example, Elizabeth Stone and Paul Zimansky's assessment of power relations in the Mesopotamian city of Maskan-shapir (published in the April 1995 *Scientific American*) suggests that urban culture need not imply class divisions. Their findings seem to show that civilization in its earliest phase was free of these. Still, for the most part the history of civilization in the Near East, the Far East, and Central America, is also the history of kingship, slavery, conquest, agriculture, overpopulation, and environmental ruin. And these traits continue in civilization's most recent phases--the industrial state and the global market--though now the state itself takes the place of the king, and slavery becomes wage labor and *de facto* colonialism administered through multinational corporations. Meanwhile, the mechanization of production (which began with agriculture) is overtaking nearly every avenue of human creativity, population is skyrocketing, and organized warfare is resulting in unprecedented levels of bloodshed.

Perhaps, if some of these undesirable traits were absent from the very first cities, I should focus my critique on "Empire Culture" instead of the broader target of "civilization." However, given how little we still know about the earliest urban centers of the Neolithic era, it is difficult as yet to draw a clear distinction between the two terms.

PRIMITIVISM VERSUS CIVILIZATION

WILD SELF/DOMESTICATED SELF: People are shaped from birth by their cultural surroundings and by their interactions with the people closest to them. Civilization manipulates these primary relationships in such a way as to domesticate the infant--that is, so as to accustom it to life in a social structure one step removed from nature. The actual process of domestication is describable as

follows, using terms borrowed from the object-relations school of psychology.

The infant lives entirely in the present moment in a state of pure trust and guilelessness, deeply bonded with her mother. But as she grows, she discovers that her mother is a separate entity with her own priorities and limits. The infant's experience of relationship changes from one of spontaneous trust to one that is suffused with need and longing. This creates a gap between Self and Other in the consciousness of the child, who tries to fill this deepening rift with transitional objects--initially, perhaps a teddy bear; later, addictions and beliefs that serve to fill the psychic gap and thus provide a sense of security. It is the powerful human need for transitional objects that drives individuals in their search for property and power, and that generates bureaucracies and technologies as people pool their efforts.

This process does not occur in the same way in the case of primitive childbearing, where the infant is treated with indulgence, is in constant physical contact with a caregiver throughout infancy, and later undergoes rites of passage. In primal cultures the need for transitional objects appears to be minimized. Anthropological and psychological research converge to suggest that many of civilized people's emotional ills come from our culture's abandonment of natural childrearing methods and initiatory rites and its systematic substitution of alienating pedagogical practices from crib through university.

HEALTH: NATURAL OR ARTIFICIAL? In terms of health and quality of life, civilization has been a mitigated disaster. S. Boyd Eaton, M.D., et al., argued in *The Paleolithic Prescription* (1988) that pre-agricultural peoples enjoyed a generally healthy way of life, and that cancer, heart disease, strokes, diabetes, emphysema, hypertension, and other diseases which together lead to

therapies.

SPIRITUALITY: RAW OR COOKED?

Spirituality means different things to different people--humility before a higher power or powers; compassion for the suffering of others; obedience to a lineage or tradition; a felt connection with the Earth or with Nature; evolution toward "higher" states of consciousness; or the mystical experience of oneness with all life or with God. With regard to each of these fundamental ways of defining or experiencing the sacred, spontaneous spirituality seems to become regimented, dogmatized, even militarized, with the growth of civilization. While some of the founders of world religions were intuitive primitivists (Jesus, Lao Tze, the Buddha), their followers have often fostered the growth of dominance hierarchies.

The picture is not always simple, though. The thoroughly civilized Roman Catholic Church produced two of the West's great primitivists--St. Francis and St. Clair; while the neo-shamanic, vegetarian, and herbalist movements of early 20th century Germany attracted arch-authoritarians Heinrich Himmler and Adolph Hitler. Of course, Nazism's militarism and rigid dominator organization were completely alien to primitive life, while St. Francis's and St. Clair's voluntary poverty and treatment of animals as sacred were reminiscent of the lifestyle and worldview of most gathering-and-hunting peoples. If Nazism was atavistic, it was only highly selectively so.

A consideration of these historical ironies is useful in helping us isolate the essentials of true primitivist spirituality--which include spontaneity, mutual aid, encouragement of natural diversity, love of nature, and compassion for others. As spiritual teachers have always insisted, it is the spirit (or state of consciousness) that is important, not the form (names, ideologies, and techniques). While from the standpoint of Teilhard de

ECONOMICS: FREE OR UNAFFORDABLE?

At its base, economics is about how people relate with the land and with one another in the process of fulfilling their material wants and needs. In the most primitive societies, these relations are direct and straightforward. Land, shelter, and food are free. Everything is shared, there are no rich people or poor people, and happiness has little to do with accumulating material possessions. The primitive lives in

meaning, we live in a world that is desacralized and desensitized, without heart or spirit.

We can get some idea of ways out of our ecologically ruinous, humanly deadening economic cage by examining not only primitive lifestyles, but the proposals of economist E. F. Schumacher, the experiences of people in utopian communities in which technology and money are marginalized, and the lives of individuals who have adopted an



relative abundance (all needs and wants are easily met) and has plenty of leisure time.

Civilization, in contrast, straddles two economic pillars--technological innovation and the marketplace. "Technology" here includes everything from the plow to the nuclear reactor--all are means to more efficiently extract energy and resources from nature. But efficiency implies the reification of time, and so civilization always brings with it a preoccupation with past and future; eventually the present moment nearly vanishes from view. The

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GOVERNMENT: BOTTOM UP OR TOP DOWN? In the most primitive human societies there are no leaders, bosses, politics, laws, crime, or taxes. There is often little division of labor between women and men, and where such division exists both gender's contributions are often valued more or less equally. Probably as a result, many foraging peoples are relatively peaceful. Anthropologist Richard Lee found that

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the late 1930s, and the Paris general strike of 1968 as positive examples of anarchy in action. They point to the possibility of a kind of social ecology, in which diversity and spontaneity are permitted to flourish unhindered both in human affairs and in Nature.

While critics continue to describe anarchism as a practical failure, organizational and systems theorists Tom Peters and Peter Senge are advocating the transformation of hierarchical, bureaucratized organizations into more decentralized, autonomous, spontaneous ones. This transformation is presently underway in--of all places--the very multinational corporations that form the backbone of industrial civilization.

CIVILIZATION AND NATURE: Civilized people are accustomed to an anthropocentric view of the world. Our interest in the environment is utilitarian: it is of value because it is of use (or potential use) to human beings--if only as a place for camping and recreation.

Primitive peoples, in contrast, tended to see nature as intrinsically meaningful. In many cultures prohibitions surrounded the overhunting of animals or the felling of trees. The aboriginal peoples of Australia believed that their primary purpose in the cosmic scheme of things was to take care of the land, which meant performing ceremonies for the periodic renewal of plant and animal species, and of the landscape itself. The difference in effects between the anthropocentric and ecocentric worldviews is incalculable. At present, we human beings--while considering ourselves the most intelligent species on the planet--are engaged in the most unintelligent enterprise imaginable: the destruction of our own natural life-support system. We need here only mention matters such as the standard treatment of factory-farmed domesticated food animals, the destruction of soils, the pollution of air and water, and the extinctions of wild species, as these horrors are well

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Much-vaunted increases in longevity in civilized populations have resulted not so much from wonder drugs, as merely from better sanitation--a corrective for conditions created by the overcrowding of cities; and from reductions in infant mortality. It is true that many lives have been spared by modern antibiotics. Yet antibiotics also appear responsible for the evolution of resistant strains of microbes, which health officials now fear could produce unprecedented epidemics in the next century.

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With agriculture usually come division of labor, increased sexual inequality, and the beginnings of social hierarchy. Priests, kings, and organized, impersonal warfare all seem to come together in one package. Eventually, laws and borders define the creation of the fully fledged state. The state as a focus of coercion and violence has reached its culmination in the 19th and 20th centuries in colonialism, fascism, and Stalinism. Even the democratic industrial state functions essentially as an instrument of multinational corporate-style colonial oppression and domestic enslavement, its citizens merely being given the choice between selected professional bureaucrats representing political parties with slightly varying agendas for the advancement of corporate

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The origin and growth of this tendency to treat nature as an object separate from ourselves can be traced to the Neolithic revolution, and through the various stages of civilization's intensification and growth. One can also trace the countercurrent to this tendency from the primitivism of the early Taoists to that of today's deep ecologists, ecofeminists, and bioregionalists.

HOW WE COMPENSATE FOR OUR LOSS OF NATURE: How do we make up for the loss of our primitive way of life? Psychotherapy, exercise and diet

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The ancient practice of herbalism, evidence of which dates back at least 60,000 years, is practiced in instinctive fashion by all higher animals. Herbal knowledge formed the basis of modern medicine and remains in many ways superior to it. In countless instances, modern synthetic drugs have replaced herbs not because they are more effective or safer, but because they are more profitable to manufacture.

Other forms of "natural" healing—massage, the "placebo effect," the use of meditation and visualization—are also being shown effective. Medical doctors Bernie Siegel and Deepak Chopra are critical of mechanized medicine and say that the future of the healing professions lies in the direction of attitudinal and natural

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Beginning with William Godwin in the early 19th century, anarchist social philosophers have offered a critical counterpoint to the increasingly radical statism of most of the world's civilized political leaders. The core idea of anarchism is that human beings are fundamentally sociable; left to themselves, they tend to cooperate to their mutual benefit. There will always be exceptions, but these are best dealt with informally and on an individual basis. Many anarchists cite the Athenian polis, the "sections" in Paris during the French Revolution, the New England town meetings of the 18th century, the popular assemblies in Barcelona in

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HOW WE COMPENSATE FOR OUR LOSS OF NATURE: How do we make up for the loss of our primitive way of life? Psychotherapy, exercise and diet programs, the vacation and entertainment

industries, and social welfare programs are necessitated by civilized, industrial lifestyles. The cumulative cost of these compensatory efforts is vast; yet in many respects they are only palliative.

The medical community now tells us that our modern diet of low-fiber, high-fat processed foods is disastrous to our health. But what exactly is the cost—in terms of hospital stays, surgeries, premature deaths, etc.? A rough but conservative estimate runs into the tens of billions of dollars per year in North America alone.

At the forefront of the "wellness" movement are advocates of natural

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or regressive, the essentials we have cited are timeless and trans-evolutionary—they are available at all stages, at all times, for all people. It is when we cease to see civilization in terms of theories of cultural evolution and see it merely as one of several possible forms of social organization that we begin to understand why religion can be liberating, enlightening, and empowering when it holds consistently to primitivist ideals; or deadening and oppressive when it is co-opted to serve the interests of power.

appendage of the machine, a slave to clocks and wages.

The market is civilization's means of equating dissimilar things through a medium of exchange. As we grow accustomed to valuing everything according to money, we tend to lose a sense of the uniqueness of things. What, after all, is an animal worth, or a mountain, or a redwood tree, or an hour of human life? The market gives us a numerical answer based on scarcity and demand. To the degree that we believe that such values have

foods, exercise programs (including hiking and backpacking), herbalism, and other therapies that aim specifically to bring overcivilized individuals back in touch with the innate source of health within their own stressed and repressed bodies.

Current approaches in psychology aim to retrieve lost portions of the primitive psyche via "inner child" work, through which adults compensate for alienated childhoods; or men's and women's vision quests, through which civilized people seek to access the "wild man" or "wild woman" within.

All of these physically, psychologically, and even spiritually-oriented efforts are helpful antidotes for the distress of civilization. One must wonder, however, whether it wouldn't be better simply to stop creating the problems that these programs and therapies are intended to correct.

QUESTIONS AND OBJECTIONS

ISN'T CIVILIZATION SIMPLY THE INEVITABLE EXPRESSION OF THE EVOLUTIONARY URGE AS IT IS TRANSLATED THROUGH HUMAN SOCIETY? ISN'T PRIMITIVISM THEREFORE REGRESSIVE?

We are accustomed to thinking of the history of Western civilization as an inevitable evolutionary progression. But this implies that all the world's peoples who didn't spontaneously develop civilizations of their own were less highly evolved than ourselves, or simply "backward." Not all anthropologists who have spent time with such peoples think this way. Indeed, according to the cultural materialist school of thought, articulated primarily by Marvin Harris, social change in the direction of technological innovation and social stratification is fueled not so much by some innate evolutionary urge as by crises brought on by overpopulation

and resource exhaustion.

WASN'T PRIMITIVE LIFE TERRIBLE? WOULD WE REALLY WANT TO GO BACK TO HUNTING AND GATHERING, LIVING WITHOUT MODERN COMFORTS AND CONVENiences?

Putting an urban person in the wilderness without comforts and conveniences would be as cruel as abandoning a domesticated pet by the roadside. Even if the animal survived, it would be miserable. And we would probably be miserable too, if the accoutrements of civilization were abruptly withdrawn from us. Yet the wild cousins of our hypothetical companion animal—whether a parrot, a canine, or a feline—live quite happily away from houses and packaged pet food and resist our efforts to capture and domesticate them, just as primitive peoples live quite happily without civilization and often resist its imposition. Clearly, animals (including people) can adapt either to wild or domesticated ways of life over the course of several generations, while adult individuals tend to be much less adaptable. In the view of many of its proponents, primitivism implies a direction of social change over time, as opposed to an instantaneous, all-or-nothing choice. We in the industrial world have gradually accustomed ourselves to a way of life that

appears to be leading toward a universal biological holocaust. The question is, shall we choose to gradually accustom ourselves to another way of life—one that more successfully integrates human purposes with ecological imperatives—or shall we cling to our present choices to the bitter end?

Obviously, we cannot turn back the clock. But we are at a point in history where we not only can, but must pick and choose among all the present and past elements of human culture to find those that are most humane and sustainable. While the new culture we will create by doing so will not likely

represent simply an immediate return to wild food gathering, it could restore much of the freedom, naturalness, and spontaneity that we have traded for civilization's artifices, and it could include new versions of cultural forms with roots in humanity's remotest past. We need not slavishly imitate the past; we might, rather, be inspired by the best examples of human adaptation, past and present. Instead of "going back," we should think of this process as "getting back on track."

HAVEN'T WE GAINED IMPORTANT KNOWLEDGE AND ABILITIES THROUGH CIVILIZATION? WOULDN'T RENOUNCING THESE ADVANCES BE STUPID AND SHORT-SIGHTED?

If human beings are inherently mostly good, sociable, and creative, it is inevitable that much of what we have done in the course of the development of civilization should be worth keeping, even if the enterprise as a whole was skewed. But how do we decide what to keep? Obviously, we must agree upon criteria. I would suggest that our first criterion must be ecological sustainability. What activities can be pursued across many generations with minimal environmental damage? A second criterion might be, What sorts of activities promote—rather than degrade—human dignity and freedom?

IF HUMAN BEINGS ARE INHERENTLY GOOD, THEN WHY DID WE MAKE THE "MISTAKE" OF CREATING CIVILIZATION? AREN'T THE TWO PROPOSITIONS (HUMAN BEINGS ARE GOOD, CIVILIZATION IS BAD) CONTRADICTORY?

Only if taken as absolutes. Human nature is malleable, its qualities changing somewhat according to the natural and social environment. Moreover, humankind is not a closed system. We exist within a natural world that is, on the whole, "good,"

but that is subject to rare catastrophes. Perhaps the initial phases of civilization were humanity's traumatized response to overwhelming global cataclysms accompanying and following the end of the Pleistocene. Kingship and warfare may have originated as survival strategies. Then, perhaps civilization itself became a mechanism for re-traumatizing each new generation, thus preserving and regenerating its own psycho-social basis.

WHAT PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE STEM FROM PRIMITIVISM? WE CANNOT ALL REVERT TO GATHERING AND HUNTING TODAY BECAUSE THERE ARE JUST TOO MANY OF US. CAN PRIMITIVISM OFFER A PRACTICAL DESIGN FOR LIVING?

No philosophy or "-ism" is a magical formula for the solution of all human problems. Primitivism doesn't offer easy answers, but it does suggest an alternative direction or set of values. For many centuries, civilization has been traveling in the direction of artificiality, control, and domination. Primitivism tells us that there is an inherent limit to our continued movement in that direction, and that at some point we must begin to choose to readapt ourselves to nature. The point of a primitivist critique of civilization is not necessarily to insist on an absolute rejection of every aspect of modern life, but to assist in clarifying issues so that we can better understand the tradeoffs we are making now, deepen the process of renegotiating our personal bargains with nature, and thereby contribute to the reframing of our society's collective covenants.

SOME CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

In any discussion of primitivism we must keep in mind civilization's "good" face—the one characterized (in Lewis Mumford's words) by

the invention and keeping of the

written record, the growth of visual and musical arts, the effort to widen the circle of communication and economic intercourse far beyond the range of any local community; ultimately the purpose to make available to all [people] the discoveries and inventions and creations, the works of art and thought, the values and purposes that any single group has discovered.

Civilization brings not only comforts, but also the opportunity to think the thoughts of Plato or Thoreau, to travel to distant places, and to live under the protection of a legal system that guarantees certain rights. How could we deny the worth of these things?

Naturally, we would like to have it all; we would like to preserve civilization's perceived benefits while restraining its destructiveness. But we haven't found a way to do that yet. And it is unlikely that we will while we are in denial about what we have left behind, and about the likely consequences of what we are doing now.

While I advocate taking a critical look at civilization, I am not suggesting that we are now in position to render a final judgment on it. It is entirely possible that we are standing on the threshold of a cultural transformation toward a way of life characterized by relatively higher degrees of contentment, creativity, justice, and sustainability than have been known in any human society heretofore. If we are able to follow this transformation through, and if we call the result "civilization," then we will surely be entitled to declare civilization a resounding success.

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If human beings are inherently mostly good, sociable, and creative, it is inevitable that much of what we have done in the course of the development of civilization should be worth keeping, even if the enterprise as a whole was skewed. But how do we decide what to keep? Obviously, we must agree upon criteria. I would suggest that our first criterion must be ecological sustainability. What activities can be pursued across many generations with minimal environmental damage? A second criterion might be, What sorts of activities promote—rather than degrade—human dignity and freedom?

IF HUMAN BEINGS ARE INHERENTLY GOOD, THEN WHY DID WE MAKE THE "MISTAKE" OF CREATING CIVILIZATION? AREN'T THE TWO PROPOSITIONS (HUMAN BEINGS ARE GOOD, CIVILIZATION IS BAD) CONTRADICTORY?

Only if taken as absolutes. Human nature is malleable, its qualities changing somewhat according to the natural and social environment. Moreover, humankind is not a closed system. We exist within a natural world that is, on the whole, "good,"

WHAT PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE STEM FROM PRIMITIVISM? WE CANNOT ALL REVERT TO GATHERING AND HUNTING TODAY BECAUSE THERE ARE JUST TOO MANY OF US. CAN PRIMITIVISM OFFER A PRACTICAL DESIGN FOR LIVING?

No philosophy or "-ism" is a magical formula for the solution of all human problems. Primitivism doesn't offer easy answers, but it does suggest an alternative direction or set of values. For many centuries, civilization has been traveling in the direction of artificiality, control, and domination. Primitivism tells us that there is an inherent limit to our continued movement in that direction, and that at some point we must begin to choose to readapt ourselves to nature. The point of a primitivist critique of civilization is not necessarily to insist on an absolute rejection of every aspect of modern life, but to assist in clarifying issues so that we can better understand the tradeoffs we are making now, deepen the process of renegotiating our personal bargains with nature, and thereby contribute to the reframing of our society's collective covenants.

SOME CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

In any discussion of primitivism we must keep in mind civilization's "good" face—the one characterized (in Lewis Mumford's words) by

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but also the opportunity to think the thoughts of Plato or Thoreau, to travel to distant places, and to live under the protection of a legal system that guarantees certain rights. How could we deny the worth of these things?

Naturally, we would like to have it all; we would like to preserve civilization's perceived benefits while restraining its destructiveness. But we haven't found a way to do that yet. And it is unlikely that we will while we are in denial about what we have left behind, and about the likely consequences of what we are doing now.

While I advocate taking a critical look at civilization, I am not suggesting that we are now in position to render a final judgment on it. It is entirely possible that we are standing on the threshold of a cultural transformation toward a way of life characterized by relatively higher degrees of contentment, creativity, justice, and sustainability than have been known in any human society heretofore. If we are able to follow this transformation through, and if we call the result "civilization," then we will surely be entitled to declare civilization a resounding success.

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THE SHAME OF PHILADELPHIA

Death Row prisoner Reggie Lewis on how, like Mumia Abu-Jamal, he was framed for murder by Philadelphia PD

But this implies that all the world's peoples who didn't spontaneously develop civilizations of their own were less highly evolved than ourselves, or simply "backward." Not all anthropologists who have spent time with such peoples think this way. Indeed, according to the cultural materialist school of thought, articulated primarily by Marvin Harris, social change in the direction of technological innovation and social stratification is fueled not so much by some innate evolutionary urge as by crises brought on by overpopulation

question is, shall we choose to gradually accustom ourselves to another way of life—one that more successfully integrates human purposes with ecological imperatives—or shall we cling to our present choices to the bitter end?

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Obviously, we cannot turn back the clock. But we are at a point in history where we not only can, but must pick and choose among all the present and past elements of human culture to find those that are most humane and sustainable. While the new culture we will create by doing so will not likely

bring us to the "good" face of civilization, it will bring us closer to it. By understanding the tradeoffs we are making now, deepen the process of renegotiating our personal bargains with nature, and thereby contribute to the reframing of our society's collective covenants.

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In my hometown of Philadelphia, the fourth largest city in the United States, there's a particular phrase often used to describe the exceptional men and women who serve on the city's police department: "Philly's finest."

It is a name those sworn to "protect and serve" wear with distinction and honor -- like the shiny silver badge pinned to their crisp, sharp-pressed blue uniforms. But in the wake of an ongoing federal probe into police corruption, which thus far resulted in the arrests and convictions of six 39th district police officers for beating, robbing, and deliberately framing hundreds of innocent drug suspects -- their badges have become badly tarnished.

Over a period of three years, 39th district officers John Baird, Thomas Ryan, Louis Maier, Stephen Brown, Thomas Degiovanni, and James Ryan admitted to roles in purposely planting evidence, conducting illegal searches, falsifying statements and arrest reports, and to stealing more than \$100,000 from suspected drug dealers. The wayward cops'

perfidious conduct came to the attention of federal investigators after the leader of the pack -- Officer John Baird (his fellow officers dubbed him "Wacky Jacky" because of his propensity for gratuitous violence and for terrorizing suspects with a sadistic game of Russian Roulette) -- beat and illegally detained Arthur Colbert, a college student whose only

crime was being a young black male who resembled a drug dealer Baird wanted to rob.

If this proved to be the one case that precipitated the dirty cops' execrable doom, so too was another case that sent shock waves rippling through the entire community. In an astounding admission, the uniformed crooks revealed that they had even framed Betty Patterson, a deeply religious, black woman. They had been stalking her three sons -- who hadn't resided at her residence in over three years -- when they stormed into her home, planted drugs, and arrested her.

In court they testified that she was the titular head of a major drug operation she ran out of her home. She languished in prison for three long, harrowing years before she was freed.

The elderly black woman's tragic story was the focus of national media attention that cast a dark cloud of suspicion and shame over the entire Philadelphia police department. Hundreds of drug convictions have either been overturned or thrown out (one judge dismissed 60 cases in one hour) and the officers' wrongful conduct has cost the city millions of dollars in civil jury awards.

Is it reasonable to believe, then, that the police corruption is only limited to the 39th district? And is it logical to think crooked cops who prodigiously and mercilessly framed hundreds of drug suspects would not stoop so low as to frame suspects for more serious crimes -- such as murders?

It comes as no surprise then that two of the same cops who were wedded in the evil symbiosis of the plot to frame

innocent citizens -- officers Thomas Ryan and John Baird -- also played pivotal roles in sending five defendants to prison for murder.

In a case-by-case analysis of the tainted evidence and perjured testimony by police officers who confessed to wrongdoing, there is no clamour and enthusiasm to toss out these murder convictions. There are no reporters for the local or national media scrambling to document the sordid details of a rogue cop's complicity in sending innocent people to prison for homicide. No one wants to, because in the dark, secret ecology of Philadelphia's criminal justice system, political machinations drive the collective aspirations for higher office. A prosecutor with an astounding conviction record (particularly for capital crimes) can eventually be appointed to a

judgeship, the position of attorney general, a seat in Congress or the Senate -- or on to the Supreme Court. Detectives who diligently cracked that one big case can get promoted to the rank of lieutenant or captain or even pen a book on the subject. And an expert witness whose testimony contributed to the conviction in a murder case that seized the public's imagination can enjoy a significant increase in demand for his or her services.

You have to try to imagine the enormous taxpayer dollars (and human resources) that are spent on a murder trial to understand that no prosecutor or judge or expert is willing to bear the onus of blame for not sanctioning a corrupt cop whose questionable evidence sent an innocent defendant to prison for life -- or to death row. How could they explain their complicity in this deliberate farce to the American people? How could they assuage the pain of this great Shakespearean tragedy with the *victim's* family -- the *defendant* -- who they knew all along was innocent?

Such a proposition can prove to be politically embarrassing and career threatening. It's better to let dead dogs lie. What's done shouldn't be *undone*. And so there is a deliberate obstinate resistance to the transference of culpability.

And if you're poor and black like me -- a cry of innocence can fall on mute ears.

THE EVIDENCE OF THINGS UNSEEN

My own descent down the long dark corridors of death row began on January 25, 1983, several days after I returned from visiting my brother, Marine Sergeant Michael B. Lewis, and his wife Kimberly, in San Diego, California. My little brother had enlisted in the USMC four years earlier. On our letters and long-distance phone calls to each other, Mike dazzled me with wildly extravagant success stories about the challenges of combat that seemed

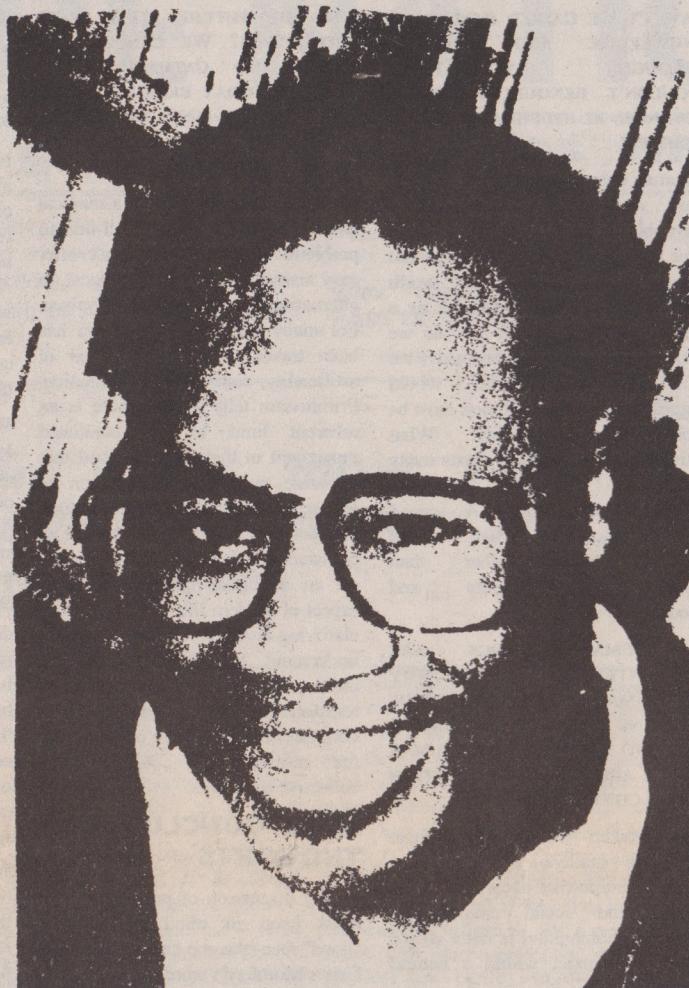
division and placed in an interrogation room. In the center of the small, faintly lit room, a crude, small gray metal table and two squat chairs were bolted to the floor.

The air reeked of the foul smell of sweat and urine. I could barely breathe. Every inch of the walls was defaced with graffiti. Paper cups and cigarette butts and crumpled pieces of paper were strewn about the room. To my right, against the wall, a dusky and scarred two-way mirror conspicuously stared down at me. Unseen eyes burned through

know you did it! I got witnesses who identified you!"

"I -- I ain't lying, man", I countered. "I'm tellin' you, I was in California".

I told him I had papers to prove it. In my possession was my black briefcase. There was jewelry and ladies' perfume; a passel of documents that substantiated my whereabouts, ie. two dated and stamped bus ticket stubs; an application for employment from Chess King, a menswear store in Fashion Valley in San Diego; a cleaner's receipt; a dated letter to my



glass. In one corner, dark brown brother in San Diego; but more

George Gershenfeld, filed a motion for "pretrial discovery and inspection" but the material was not returned.

The duty of the commonwealth to disclose to the defense evidence helpful to the defendant goes all the way back to the United States Supreme Court precedent *Brady v Maryland*, 373 US 5, ct. 1194, 101. ed. 2d 215 (1963). The purpose of this landmark ruling was that a miscarriage of justice does not occur.

At the July 25, 1983 pretrial hearing, Detective Kane was asked on cross-examination if there was a black briefcase in my possession when I was taken into custody.

KANE: Yes, he did. He had a large black folding case with jewelry and perfume and so on.

GERSHENFELD: Did he have a briefcase?

KANE: That would be the briefcase.

GERSHENFELD: Sir, did you open the briefcase?

KANE: Yes, sir, I did.

GERSHENFELD: And were there bus tickets and other papers in there?

KANE: I believe there were.

The detective was next asked on cross-examination whether he had complied with correct police procedures when he had entered and searched my briefcase.

GERSHENFELD: Sir, did you make an inventory list of what was taken from him?

KANE: (Pause) An inventory list? No, sir.

GERSHENFELD: Pardon me?

KANE: No.

GERSHENFELD: Is there anything in your records, sir to show what happened, or records of the police to show what happened to that briefcase?

KANE: Maybe in the cellroom; I don't know.

GERSHENFELD: Well...

KANE: I don't know. There is nothing here. I don't know.

GERSHENFELD: You have gone through those records.

KANE: Yes, sir.

GERSHENFELD: At no time to your

pirates -- a ring for my wife ... a bracelet for my daughter ... or a gold chain for my girlfriend....

Though I had every intention to use the jewelry to retain a good, competent attorney, I had a greater concern for ascertaining the documents that no doubt would have proven that I was innocent of this senseless murder. I leaned over the defense table, nudged my disgustedly inept court-appointed attorney, and said, "Look, man, just ask 'im where the hell's my papers".

GERSHENFELD: But there were papers and there were tickets, bus tickets, and there were other things.

KANE: And it was left in there.

GERSHENFELD: But, there are no records or anything that is kept of that?

KANE: No, sir. I removed two (2) papers from the briefcase.

GERSHENFELD: Pardon me?

KANE: I took two (2) papers out of that briefcase.

I almost fell out of my chair. I couldn't believe my ears. Here, the detective admitted under oath to removing "two papers" from my briefcase, and without a search warrant!

Am I not justified in my belief that there was foul play involved in my case? Is it unreasonable for me to conclude that a white cop so brash and arrogant enough to concede to the illegal removal of only two documents could not resist the temptation to take them all?

But you see, this was merely pretrial. Retrieving the solid, favorable evidence I'd possessed upon my arrest was like reaching for intangibles at the highest level of the Philadelphia police department. I was a poor, young, uneducated black defendant. There was absolutely no one whom I could turn to to hold a white detective accountable for his transgressions. I held out hope that Detective Robert Kane would be audacious enough to tell that same story to a trial jury of my peers.

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"You'll love it out here, bro", he'd say, his voice rich with enthusiasm. "And the girls are fine, man".

Since I was a self-employed jewelry and perfume salesman, I envisioned throngs of female customers festooned with my jewelry, smelling of my redolent perfume. Maybe I could establish a large enough clientele to enable me to open my own jewelry store. Maybe I would love it in California and relocate, I'd thought.

I accepted my brother's invitation to

my right, against the wall, a dusky and scarred two-way mirror conspicuously stared down at me. Unseen eyes burned through the

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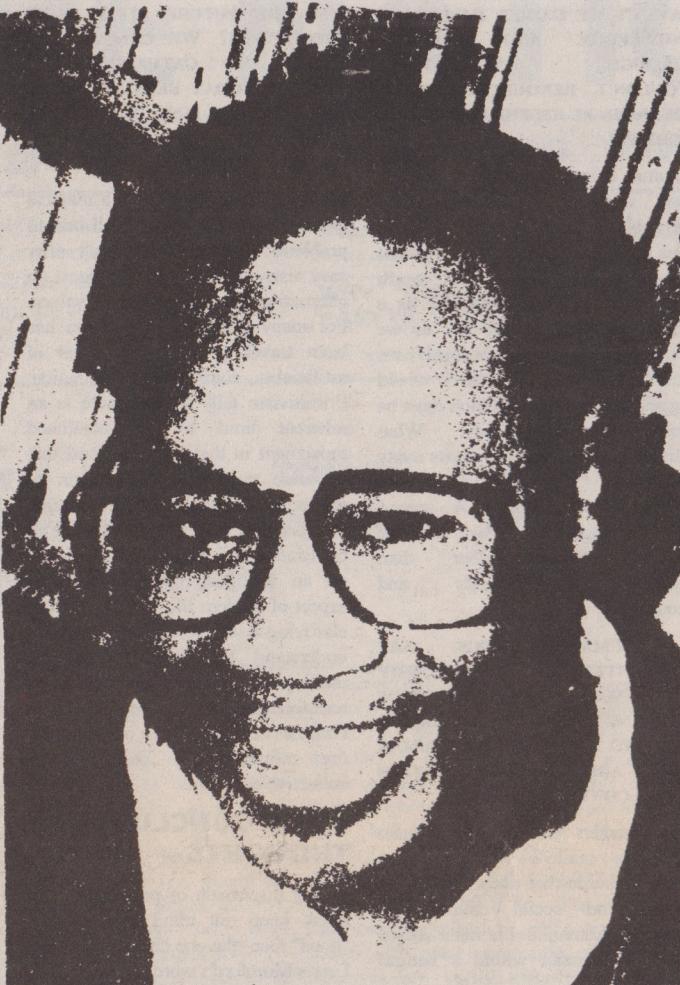
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KANE: No, sir. We saw what was in there.

As I sat listening to the cop testify under oath, I also studied his demeanour. He was, for some reason, visibly nervous and fidgety.

I remember thinking: *So it wasn't just you who raided the contents of my briefcase, huh, Kane?*

He had used "we, as in "us", the first-



glass. In one corner, dark brown dollops covered the entire bottom half of the wall to my left. Another large smear of long-dried blood snaked up the side of the back wall and curved to the right.

I'd heard horrid stories of sadistic cops torturing black suspects until they confessed. Several years earlier, a cousin by marriage, William Hoskins, was beaten nearly to death by a deranged detective because he refused to talk.

Detective Robert Kane entered the room, a grim-faced white man with powerful shoulders and large hands.

His cold, hawk-like eyes pinned me in his sights as if I was some small quarry he wanted to rip to shreds.

For a long moment the detective was silent. Then he scowled, seized my briefcase, stormed out of the interrogation room -- and I never saw my briefcase again.

Detective

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Kane

independent court-appointed attorney, and said, "Look, man, just ask 'im where the hell's my papers".

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Little did I know that I was in for the biggest surprise of my life.

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The judge assigned to preside over my capital murder trial was Albert F Sabo, a racist, Gestapo-like little man with an astounding record of sending more poor black defendants to Death Row than any judge in the State of Pennsylvania -- and more than any other judge in the United States.

According to a report released last year by the Death Penalty Information Center, a non-profit research and education organization in Washington DC, Sabo, from 1978 to 1991 handed out 31 death sentences. 84% of those

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I accepted my brother's invitation to visit and took a Trailways bus to San Diego, California. A month later, my dream was deferred when my mother called me in San Diego and informed me that Philadelphia homicide detectives wanted to question me about a murder. A 250-pound black pimp was stabbed to death during a birthday party in a seedy drug bar in north Philadelphia.

"I know you didn't do it, son", my mother said, her voice cracking with emotion. "So jus' come on back and clear this thing up".

I took my mother's advice and eventually returned to Philly on a Greyhound bus.

I was taken into custody, fingerprinted, booked, and locked in 'The Bubble' with other arrestees at police headquarters at 8th and Race Street. Hours later, I was escorted in hand cuffs upstairs to the homicide



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I'd heard horrid stories of sadistic cops torturing black suspects until they confessed. Several years earlier, a cousin by marriage, William Hoskins, was beaten nearly to death by a deranged detective because he refused to talk.

Detective Robert Kane entered the room, a grim-faced white man with powerful shoulders and large hands. His cold, hawk-like eyes pinned me in his sights as if I was some small quarry he wanted to rip to shreds.

He began to question me about the murder that occurred on the evening of November 21, 1982. I voluntarily gave him my statement. I had nothing to hide -- so I told the detective that on the day in question, I'd been in San Diego, California, 3,000 miles away, visiting my brother, his wife and baby. I couldn't have killed this guy, who was stabbed repeatedly over a small debt or an argument, because I'd been in California since November 18, 1982.

Detective Robert Kane slapped me first. Then his large fist flew across the table and crashed into the side of my jaw. Blood flew. I was used to taking hard blows to the body and head -- after all, I'd been a boxer. What I wasn't used to was a white man laying his hands on me without provocation. So I sucked in my pride.

"You're lying!" Kane snapped. "You

brother in San Diego; but more importantly, my salesman receipt book containing names, dates, addresses, and amounts of purchase from my California customers. I told him any of those people could verify

that I was in San Diego, California, before, during, and after the commission of the crime.

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Detective Robert Kane slapped me first. Then his large fist ... crashed into the side of my jaw

I didn't see Detective Kane again until a pretrial proceeding which commenced July 27, 1983. I thought he'd go before the bar of the court and tell the judge that he'd spoken to the witnesses whose locations and names I'd provided and that their stories checked out and the charges should be dismissed. But he never did. And perhaps I was too naive to cling to the life-sustaining hope that the exculpatory evidence that was in my briefcase would miraculously reappear. I couldn't have been more wrong. My court-appointed attorney,

person plural pronoun which suggested more than one detective was privy to what was inside my black briefcase.

It made perfect sense, then, why no inventory was meticulously recorded or no receipt for an itemized list bore the signature of any of the homicide detectives who were present. Every official police procedural rule was blatantly violated!

I imagined a cadre of nameless faces and unseen hands plundering my personal valuables like covetous

documents could not resist the temptation to take them all?

But you see, this was merely pretrial. Retrieving the solid, favorable evidence I'd possessed upon my arrest was like reaching for intangibles at the highest level of the Philadelphia police department. I was a poor, young, uneducated black defendant. There was absolutely no one whom I could turn to hold a white detective accountable for his transgressions. I held out hope that Detective Robert Kane would be audacious enough to tell that same story to a trial jury of my peers.

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According to a report released last year by the Death Penalty Information Center, a non-profit research and education organization in Washington DC, Sabo, from 1978 to 1991 handed out 31 death sentences. 84% of those so-called capital case convictions were African-American defendants. At the time, I had no way of knowing that I would be a mere percentile that comprised those staggering statistics.

The prosecutor was a young white male with stringy dark hair and a ruddy complexion. His eyes were dispassionate, his mouth hard around the taut edges, and the cheap material of the drab two-piece suits he wore like body armor told me he was hungry and I was in for a hellacious courtroom battle.

The prospective jurors marched into the room like a battalion of soldiers. While awaiting trial, I took advantage of my time by diligently poring over law books in the prison's law library. I learned that a criminal defendant had a Sixth-Amendment right to a jury comprised of a fair cross-section of the community -- but staring at the

sea of white faces, I saw few black or brown faces representative of *my* community. The jury pool was largely drawn from the voters registration polls. They were disproportionately white, middle-class Republicans corralled from the northeast -- one of the most segregated sections of the city, with a brutally racist past -- and present.

Right off, the young prosecutor struck the first five black jurors on the petit jury solely on account of their race. His systematic pattern continued until every African American prospective juror -- eight in all -- were removed.

My lawyer didn't even object. Just sat there. Doing nothing. Twelve white jurors and two alternates were chosen to hear my fate.

One after another, a parade of prosecution witnesses -- from prostitutes to welfare recipients to drug dealers and addicts -- ascended the stand in rapid succession. They were amateur thespians whose scripted performance was unimpressive. At least to me.

One witness, on the night of the murder, swore that the killer wore gold glasses. Another swore he wore brown glasses. But since a pair of black glasses (with no latent fingerprints on them) at the crime scene was found to belong to the defendant, they suddenly remembered at trial that he wore black glasses -- *not gold or brown*.

And there was varying descriptions of the culprit. He was light skinned. Brown skinned. Very dark skinned in complexion. His height ranged from as tall as 5'9" to as short as 5'3". He was skinny. Husky. Of medium build. He was also broad shouldered. The thing is, the multitude of descriptions bore absolutely no resemblance to me! I knew the inconsistencies in identification carried little weight with this jury. Don't *all* blacks look alike?

And then the prosecutor called Detective Robert Kane to the stand.

in the briefcase?

KANE: (Pause) There were pieces of jewelry. There was a small bottle of perfume, a few papers -- a few papers.

GERSHENFELD: Were there any bus tickets?

KANE: There was a Greyhound bus ticket.

GERSHENFELD: And where was that bus ticket from, sir?

KANE: It didn't indicate any date or location on it.

GERSHENFELD: Pardon me?

KANE: It did not have any date or location on it.

GERSHENFELD: Did it show where it was from?

KANE: No, sir.

GERSHENFELD: Do you mean to tell me there was just a blank bus ticket?

KANE: (No answer)

GERSHENFELD: To nowhere?

KANE: I don't -- I recall -- I remember seeing a Greyhound on it, the symbol of the Greyhound bus.

The detective's testimony concerning his observation of a "blank bus ticket" was too incredible to fit into any pattern of reality. I was numb. I knew that a blind man could see that something shadowy and untoward had taken place during the cop's illegal search of my black briefcase. If only I had a smart investigator and good enough lawyer to prove it.

Though the defense counsel's cross-examination of the homicide detective was weak and ineffective -- though there were many more questions about the mysterious disappearance of my papers he could have asked and countless areas he should have explored -- the prosecutor sensed we had inflicted some damage to the credibility of one of his most important witnesses -- and moved quickly to rehabilitate him on direct examination.

He asked him about the briefcase and the police procedure and whether a property receipt was given to the defendant, and Kane replied: "If I

pretrial hearing (and out of the presence of a jury) that, by his own hand, he had, in fact, taken papers from my briefcase?

I've read the trial transcripts over and over. Detective Kane lied under oath!

I brought this to the attention of my attorney, at the time. Told him the cop should be cited on charges of perjury. Furthermore, it should be brought to the attention of the jury, his lies.

"You're a young black defendant", Gershenfeld said seriously, "And he's a white cop. So who do you think this all-white jury's going to believe?"

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THE CORRIDORS OF DEATH

It had been my contention that I could not have committed this murder -- because I was not even in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on November 21, 1982. Well before my trial commenced, I'd provided my lawyer with a list of names, addresses, and phone numbers of alibi witnesses in San Diego, California, who'd verify my whereabouts. There were seven in all. I had every reason to expect that the attorney would interview, investigate, and bring forth these witnesses to testify on my behalf -- particularly since the court had given him \$2,500 to secure their attendance.

Trial counsel George Gershenfeld

effective counterattack against the State's charges. I was a Biblical David -- and the Giant (the system) was too powerful to defeat.

I'd had no role in the tragic demise of this purveyor of flesh. But how could I have proved it? Exculpatory evidence which would have substantiated my claim of innocence was in my briefcase when I was arrested, but by the time I went to trial it had mysteriously disappeared. I never had a chance. The death penalty. Tried by an all-white jury, a racist judge, poorly represented by a pitifully inept court-appointed attorney in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the so-called 'City of Brotherly Love', the cradle of the American Constitution. And home of countless corrupt cops who frame innocent citizens.

FOOTNOTE

The writer of this essay, Reginald S

Lewis, hopes to garner the public's support on vindicating his name. Throughout his incarceration on Death Row, he has never had a zealous lawyer and investigator to fight on his behalf, and so he requests your financial contributions so that he can hire a good lawyer and retain a good private investigator.

Because of strict prison policy, he cannot receive *personal cheques* and actual currency. He is only allowed to receive "postal money orders", "bank money orders", and cheques from businesses, corporations, libraries, institutions, organizations etc. Contributors outside the United States should remit *International Money orders* payable to:

Reginald S Lewis, #AY2902,
1040 East Roy Furman Highway,
Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090, USA

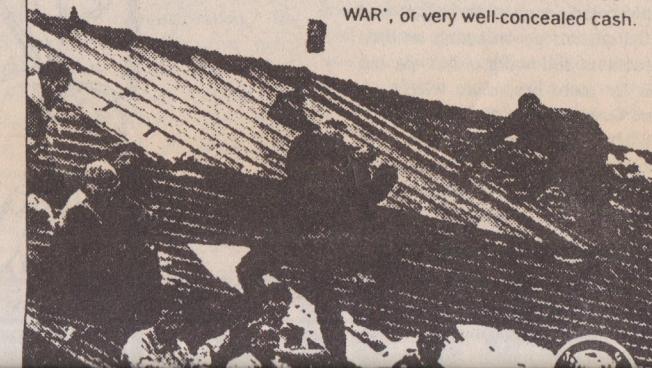
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corralled from the northeast -- one of the most segregated sections of the city, with a brutally racist past -- and present.

Right off, the young prosecutor struck the first five black jurors on the petit jury solely on account of their race. His systematic pattern continued until every African American prospective juror -- eight in all -- were removed.

My lawyer didn't even object. Just sat there. Doing nothing. Twelve white jurors and two alternates were chosen to hear my fate.

One after another, a parade of prosecution witnesses -- from prostitutes to welfare recipients to drug dealers and addicts -- ascended the stand in rapid succession. They were amateur thespians whose scripted performance was unimpressive. At least to me.

One witness, on the night of the murder, swore that the killer wore gold glasses. Another swore he wore brown glasses. But since a pair of black glasses (with no latent fingerprints on them) at the crime scene was found to belong to the defendant, they suddenly remembered at trial that he wore black glasses -- *not gold or brown*.

And there was varying descriptions of the culprit. He was light skinned. Brown skinned. Very dark skinned in complexion. His height ranged from as tall as 5'9" to as short as 5'3". He was skinny. Husky. Of medium build. He was also broad shouldered. The thing is, the multitude of descriptions bore absolutely no resemblance to me! I knew the inconsistencies in identification carried little weight with this jury. Don't *all* blacks look alike?

And then the prosecutor called Detective Robert Kane to the stand. He of course denied striking me. I didn't expect him to admit it. The defense counsel cross-examined him about my possessions.

GERSHENFELD: Now, sir, what was

tickets?

KANE: There was a Greyhound bus ticket.

GERSHENFELD: And where was that bus ticket from, sir?

KANE: It didn't indicate any date or location on it.

GERSHENFELD: Pardon me?

KANE: It did not have any date or location on it.

GERSHENFELD: Did it show where it was from?

KANE: No, sir.

GERSHENFELD: Do you mean to tell me there was just a blank bus ticket?

KANE: (No answer)

GERSHENFELD: To nowhere?

KANE: I don't -- I recall -- I remember seeing a Greyhound on it, the symbol of the Greyhound bus.

The detective's testimony concerning his observation of a "blank bus ticket" was too incredible to fit into any pattern of reality. I was numb. I knew that a blind man could see that something shadowy and untoward had taken place during the cop's illegal search of my black briefcase. If only I had a smart investigator and good enough lawyer to prove it.

Though the defense counsel's cross-examination of the homicide detective was weak and ineffective -- though there were many more questions about the mysterious disappearance of my papers he could have asked and countless areas he should have explored -- the prosecutor sensed we had inflicted some damage to the credibility of one of his most important witnesses -- and moved quickly to rehabilitate him on direct examination.

He asked him about the briefcase and the police procedure and whether a property receipt was given to the defendant, and Kane replied: "If I would have taken items, but in this particular case, I did not".

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Trial counsel George Gershenfeld called only a single alibi witness -- my brother, Marine Sergeant Michael B Lewis. With at least two-thirds of my witnesses missing, the testimony of a blood relative was not nearly enough to establish a reasonably

conviction of me. But how could I have proved it? Exculpatory evidence which would have substantiated my claim of innocence was in my briefcase when I was arrested, but by the time I went to trial it had mysteriously disappeared. I never had a chance. The death penalty. Tried by an all-white jury, a racist judge, poorly represented by a pitifully inept court-appointed attorney in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the so-called 'City of Brotherly Love', the cradle of the American Constitution. And home of countless corrupt cops who frame innocent citizens.

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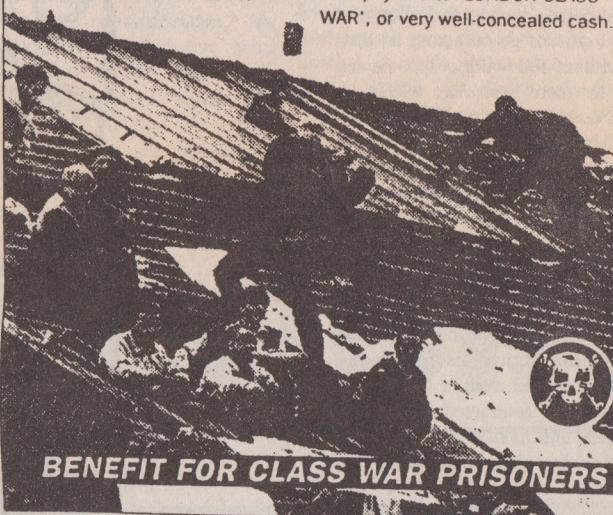
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LOVE IS NOT ENOUGH

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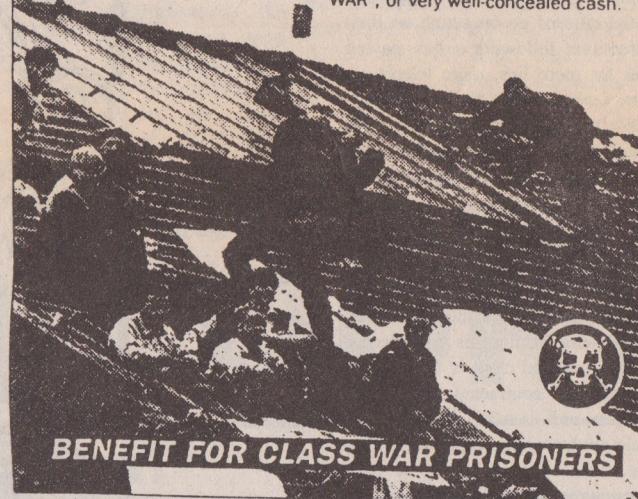
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LOVE IS NOT ENOUGH

An introduction to Steve Booth's latest pamphlet

My booklet *Politics And The Ethical Void (PATEV)* showed how it's impossible to apply ethics to the political. The only way we can give value to our loves is outside the political. In *Four Brothers*, several characters pose the question "How is love possible in this...?" -- 'this' being the world we find ourselves in, where the political has a nasty habit of imposing itself -- Job Seekers' Allowance, McDonalds, BP, the Basingstoke World, etc. How is love possible in all that?

IN THE BELL JAR

Some people work by assuming the political doesn't matter, that they can somehow divorce themselves from all that. Most of them look the other way and pretend it isn't happening (witness their silence over the Gandalf case, for example). In *PATEV*, this kind of escapism was termed 'the Mortal Bell Jar'. This attitude got a fair old hammering in there, but in *Love Is Not Enough (LINE)* I take it a stage further.

FAST AND SUPERFICIAL

People think they can cross over on the other side and ignore things like the murder of Hilda Murrell, the *Lie Too Far* case, Ken Saro-Wiwa, all the slanders and lies against Larry O'Hara, etc. Each time, their wilful ignorance strengthens the State. The ostriches become a part of it, and their lives are rendered worthless by this. One type of 'response' people make is to seek refuge in possessions or their jobs. You can see all this in London;

people rushing about (activity confers value?), people wearing designer clothes, with all their clunky jewelry, their watches and mobile phones. Never a minutes' let up to that process. Their phones just keep ringing. You get the same kind of emptiness in pictures of Tony and Cherie Blair dining with the Clintons in some plush restaurant. You get the obscenity of Covent Garden Opera at £90 a ticket when a family on income support can perhaps afford to spend £25 a week on food. This Moral Bell Jar does not insulate them at all.

LOVE

Somewhere at the centre of their evasion is a notion called 'love'. They see this as a smokescreen for their acquiescence at this evacuation of the ethical. How can this love be genuine? People make excuses for their wilful ignorance and lack of

action against this world by talking about love. "Love covers a multitude of sins". They seek refuge in sentimentality, thinking they can seal themselves off inside their wee, self-indulgent world. They are offended by the beggars outside the opera, and so get the police to sweep them away. The Bell Jar is enforced, but has to become more authoritarian as each problem compounds.

In the Bell Jar, they say they love their family, their husband, wife, their children, or they love their friends. How deep does this love go? To some extent, this works, and is indistinguishable from the moral world, because the ethical life is made up of just such a network of relationships. The point is the Moral Bell Jar is defined by its limitation.

Their concern goes *thus* far and no further.

THE DEBT BETWEEN US

What do I owe my neighbour? Simply, justice. A sense of value between us. The oasis of decency recognises the people within the charmed circle, but ignores and denies justice outside it. How can 'love' be possible when people around us are being mistreated? At the same time, that ethical desert presses unbelievably hard down on the edges of their tiny oasis, threatening to cover the whole of it with sand. They do nothing, they say nothing, they see nothing. Their account rests on falsehood. Yet, how is it possible to recognise the ethical needs of your own son or daughter, and yet wholly deny the ethical needs of Dillon Hull, the 5 year old shot dead in Bolton (6th August 1997) or children like James Bulger?

THE BEEHIVE

It is true that charity begins at home, and that we can best help the people nearest to us. Let us do this. The Beehive model of human relationships suggests there are limits to our capacity to help others. The Beehive model forces us to concentrate on particular, specific qualities or characteristics of those relationships. Yet still the question comes round again "What do I owe my neighbour?" When set alongside descriptions of the so-called society we find ourselves in, we can see the nature of the problem. Some of this stems from the fact that the political vacuum *imposes* itself. A lot of it is down to disdain and apathy. Yet the Bell Jar inhabitant obscures this with that smokescreen talk about love. How weak is this false 'love' when housing estates in places like Bolton have no future and are overwhelmed with despair to such an extent that little children are gunned down in the street?

TRUTH

I owe you the truth. If we do not have the truth between us, then we have nothing -- we have no basis for any relationship. If you look at the political, you can see soon enough that it is founded on lies.

To say that the politician lies is as unremarkable as saying the baby lies.

PATEV, p. 33

Is anybody ever fooled by a politician? -- It is useless to think that people believe any of their lies, and yet the citizens go on acting on their instructions, following orders, paying taxes for more lies, more telephone-figure salaries for those fat cats. People go on buying lottery tickets, voting. At best, these citizens have an all-consuming indifference to the truth.

If we do not have the truth between ourselves, then we have nothing. Take the BSE case, for example. For years, politicians lied and covered up the problem. During this time, people

worship of money as god. Money is a substitute for community -- if you have a community people can work to put a problem right. Under money, if people have a problem, they just throw cash at it, hoping it will go away.

Given the choice, we may prefer to concentrate our lives on building up an ethical community, even though this is difficult. Cash is a kind of pretence or parody of a positive relationship. The cash is all, and nothing else matters. We are all prostitutes now -- it is quicker and simpler for the man to give the woman the money and walk away than for him to develop and nurture a relationship based on respect and

that there is no such thing as the truth makes it all so much easier. If nothing is true, then I don't have to deal with it.

In LINE, truth is defined as correspondence with the facts. There is a risk involved in speaking. When we make a statement, we run the risk of being wrong. We can analyze other peoples' statements, but at the same time, they analyze ours. We spend time looking at the remark, trying to work out its context. We examine the facts the statement depends on, or refers to, and make a judgement about it. This is all we can do. At the same time as this, we need a sense of proportion. What is this worth to me? How much time do I want to

Fundamentally, the lies render the Bell Jar valueless. They thought that its internal character gave them value, but denied the outsiders' capacity to scrutinise their efforts. The individual cannot find value for his or her life through these tricks.

The ethical is about how we value actions and choices between people. The fault with the political, as shown in PATEV, is that there is no choice, and therefore no value. When individuals act out of their decisions, values are asserted. I choose what I want to do, what I want to be, and this is my choice. No one else can make this for me.

One type of error, when thinking about

What happens when everybody steals bread? -- The baker goes out of business.

Actions which are virtuous tend to build up the ethical community. Vicious actions harm those relationships. The ethical, this whole idea of good and bad is a network of observations about actions and consequences, judgements about probability, offered up for our guidance. All the time, we need to assess our progress in this matter. Kantian ethics tests actions according to their universalizability. Small, apparently trivial decisions, taken over time by many people, add up to something big. A good example

LOVE IS



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CASH VALUES

A great deal of their problems are caused through their worship of

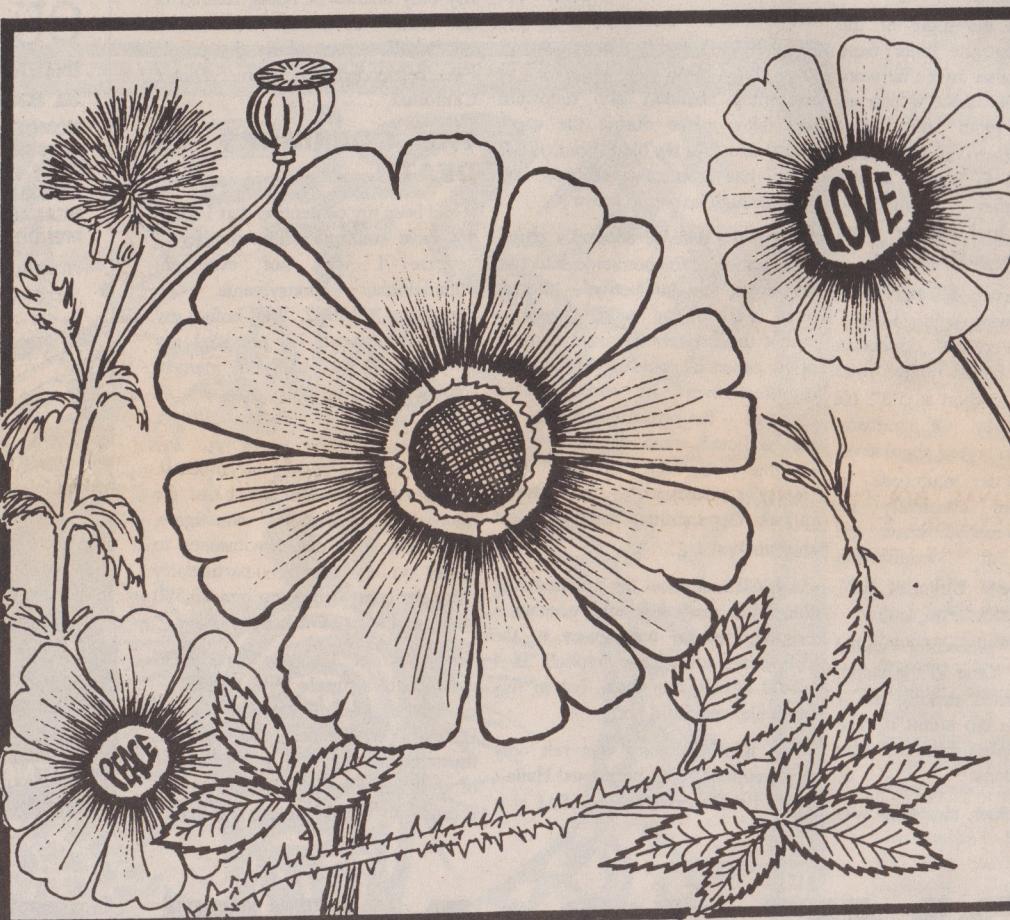
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CASH VALUES

A great deal of their problems are caused through their worship of money. Money is their substitute for value, it colours all their thinking on this topic. As if by giving people cash it is somehow made all right again. Money does not give them back their wasted, annihilated lives. This kind of thinking is an insult. Better for people to work together and build up their ethical community together, rather than conform their essential isolation from each other with cash. We become by *doing*. We do not become by paying.

The great recent expression of this error is Thatcherism and the doctrine that 'market forces are always right'. Most people have had enough of that particular lie. Yet there still is that

trust. The cars rushing along a motorway, the fax machines and answerphones make it easier not to bother with other people. In all this overcrowding and stress, with airliners crossing between continents in just a few hours, we have never been lonelier.

POST MODERNISM

Under this emptiness, it is perhaps not surprising that it is popular to deny there is such a thing as truth. The MP or bureaucrat in front of an inquiry said "Truth is a difficult concept". What he is really saying by this is "I don't want any kind of relationship with you, and so I am going to lie". The commonplace idea

of spending finding out? -- The truth has a cost, it takes effort to find it, but this is a price the hurry hurry fast and superficial world is unwilling to pay. The truth is not an easy thing, but the shallow post-modernist would rather not be put out by it, and so is mired down in meaninglessness.

ETHICS

Without the truth, we have nothing. When people tell the truth to each other, we have the possibility that values can be ascertained. Part of the reason why the Moral Bell Jar broke is that it was constructed on falsehoods: "The outside cannot touch me" "I am safe in here" "The children who were shot don't matter".

the ethical, is that all values reduce down to one thing. Some explanations of value are circular, the thing they try to explain is hidden inside the explanation. "Value is happiness" -- What is happiness? -- Something which is of benefit to me. What is of benefit? -- That which makes for happiness. Explanations can be like a Russian Doll.

INTERCONNECTEDNESS

An account of the ethical needs to take stock of the interconnectedness of values. Truth, for example, has an ethical dimension. I freely confess that I have not had enough time to develop this aspect of it -- the pressure of the Gandalf case.

of this is road traffic. A large number of individual actions, decisions about transportation result in gridlock. The cars all stop, the motorway is full. Perhaps we might not fault, or try to disregard those individual decisions, but the whole is costing us the planet, and we need to change our actions.

SUBJECTIVISM AND RELATIVISM

Moral relativism is the belief that judgements cannot cross boundaries. Subjectivism is the view that judgements are purely personal. These are commonly held views, and challenge us to define the boundaries of the ethical community. The



NOT ENOUGH

important point here is it is open to *anyone* to join that ethical community. The conditions of joining are not arbitrarily laid down by some Ayatollah or Guru, but in here to the very necessity of our living together as people. Whether or not I am part of it is the result of my own actions towards other people, my contributions into that common-weal. My exclusion will be the result of the harmful consequences of my actions, or a result of my joining with the ethical annihilation posed against me by the Machine. These are questions of fact, not matters of personal preference or interpretation.

Moral relativism is false because of the reciprocal character of the ethical. I may make judgements for or against others, but at the same time, others can make judgements against myself. This is how judgements cross boundaries.

ORGANIZATIONS

One of the ways people try to disregard or find a short cut round this requirement to build up the ethical community is through joining an organization. Organizations are pseudo-communities in that they take away individual responsibility, putting on this collective mask. In *LINE*, I have tried to focus on what organizations *are* rather than this dilution down to nothing of

responsibility ("We were only obeying orders") as this has been dealt with in *PATEV*. Instead, I take the film *Apocalypse Now!* as an example of what an organization is, and how it works. Nonsensical events take place, one after the other (helicopters attack a village just so some soldiers can go surfing) but the

crusades (eg. The Cold War), they adopt some sacred task to which all other considerations are subordinated. With the Delphic Oracle or tribal totem, through to the present day TV and opinion poll, the Idol is set up and the crowd bows down.

The organization sets a symbol, a logo; the Labour rose or McDonalds'

form of false love, or love of the false. One of the most insidious is Personalism. Personalism asserts that I am entirely responsible for the State and the system, and so by way of atonement, I must take all the negativity and sickness of the entire world on my own shoulders. Yet 99.9% of the problem lies outside

Personalism is a pattern for some of the Moral Bell Jar type 'responses' to the situation. It is useless to pretend that buying into ideologies will solve things, will change things. It is no good buying into post-modernism, moral relativism, subjectivism. Neither is it going to be an organisation. Green Anarchism isn't going to solve it, nor Class War, nor the SWP. Don't go pretending that chucking money at it, or any other sort of quick fix panacea will have enough of an effect. We have to build up the ethical community, from the bottom up, and this will take effort and time.

So long as the system continues, our lives are without value. We can only give value to our lives by abolishing the State. This is the primary ethical task facing humanity today...

How is love possible in *this*? For every genuine effort to build up the ethical community will be opposed or smashed by the system, denied or lied about by their organs of propaganda. Any attempt to build an ethical community which does not fundamentally oppose the Machine will be like the Moral Bell Jar. You cannot insulate yourself from the outside, you can only oppose it, and to be meaningful, that, friends, entails a *physical* revolution.

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whole does not come together into anything we could value. It is empty.

The organization is an obstacle to the ethical community because it denies values. Organizations are a form of idol. The people making the decisions hide behind those masks or statues, pretending their pronouncements are infallible. Organizations go off on

Golden Arches -- which form a picture for people to focus their affirmative attitudes towards. In this, the prototype is, of course, the swastika.

PERSONALISM

There are various responses to the situation, many of which adopt some

myself, in political parties, bureaucracies, megacorporations, the media, and the apathy of the masses. For the sake of that 0.1% which is my own fault, the personalist goes on punishing him or herself, pretending that some weak form of personal action like aromatherapy will solve the problem. Personalism is false.

WHY NOT TAKE A HOLIDAY?

Bob Black on the origins of the General Strike

GRAND NATIONAL HOLIDAY AND CONGRESS OF THE PRODUCTIVE CLASSES BY WILLIAM BENBOW. Edited and introduced by SA Bushell. London: Pelagian Press. £2.50.

In 1832, the National Union of the Working Classes published this once-notorious pamphlet. The author, William Benbow, then 48, was an English artisan and lifelong agitator whose historic contribution to radical political thought was the Grand National Holiday of the Working Classes --

his syndicalist successors. He does not shrink from saying the Holiday is "a *holy* day, and ours is to be of holy days the most holy," for it "is established to establish plenty, to abolish want, to render all men equal!" He is (he insists) no innovator. "The Sabbath was a weekly festival" for the ancient Hebrews, and the

rich liberals who had just won the vote for themselves thanks to working-class agitation, then turned around to deny the vote to the same workers -- would be happy to act on their liberal reform convictions by sharing out what they have to those embarked upon so worthy a cause,

all the great reformers are to be

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Moral relativism is false because of the reciprocal character of the ethical. I may make judgements for or against others, but at the same time, others can make judgements against myself. This is how judgements cross boundaries.

ORGANIZATIONS

One of the ways people try to disregard or find a short cut round this requirement to build up the ethical community is through joining an organization. Organizations are pseudo-communities in that they take away individual responsibility, putting on this collective mask. In *LINE*, I have tried to focus on what organizations *are* rather than this dilution down to nothing of

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whole does not come together into anything we could value. It is empty.

The organization is an obstacle to the ethical community because it denies values. Organizations are a form of idol. The people making the decisions hide behind those masks or statues, pretending their pronouncements are infallible. Organizations go off on

Golden Arches -- which form a picture for people to focus their affirmative attitudes towards. In this, the prototype is, of course, the swastika.

PERSONALISM

There are various responses to the situation, many of which adopt some

myself, in political parties, bureaucracies, megacorporations, the media, and the apathy of the masses. For the sake of that 0.1% which is my own fault, the personalist goes on punishing him or herself, pretending that some weak form of personal action like aromatherapy will solve the problem. Personalism is false.

So long as the system continues, our lives are without value. We can only give value to our lives by abolishing the State. This is the primary ethical task facing humanity today...

How is love possible in *this*? For every genuine effort to build up the ethical community will be opposed or smashed by the system, denied or lied about by their organs of propaganda. Any attempt to build an ethical community which does not fundamentally oppose the Machine will be like the Moral Bell Jar. You cannot insulate yourself from the outside, you can only oppose it, and to be meaningful, that, friends, entails a *physical* revolution.

WHY NOT TAKE A HOLIDAY?

Bob Black on the origins of the General Strike

GRAND NATIONAL HOLIDAY AND CONGRESS OF THE PRODUCTIVE CLASSES BY WILLIAM BENBOW. Edited and introduced by SA Bushell. London: Pelagian Press. £2.50.

In 1832, the National Union of the Working Classes published this once-notorious pamphlet. The author, William Benbow, then 48, was an English artisan and lifelong agitator whose historic contribution to radical political thought was the Grand National Holiday of the Working Classes -- later and better known as the General Strike. He called for a one-month universal work stoppage during which the producers would send representatives "to establish the happiness of the *immense majority* of the human race, of that far *largest portion* called the *working classes*," just as the elite assemblies to secure its happiness in Parliament.

Benbow was not very specific about what the Congress would do, but he was essentially a leveller. English society was rotten because of "too much idleness on the one hand, and too much toil on the other". every wealthy idler "must be made [to] work in order to cure his unsoundness". But unlike the syndicalists, who later took up the call for a general strike, Benbow, though he rather romanticized workers as the repository of virtue, did not glorify work or summon the masses to prodigies of production. It was a simple matter of equal rights and responsibilities, including "equal

hint, if even that, of his contemporary Fourier's argument for the transformation of work into productive play (it is highly unlikely Benbow had heard of Fourier by 1832). But William Morris would later produce a sophisticated synthesis of, in effect, Benbow's and Fourier's approaches to the transformation of work.

Much more original, and interesting, than his proposal for a Congress was Benbow's proposal for the Grand National Holiday. As we have seen, for Benbow the proper ends of society -- purposes it failed to serve except for "the idle, dromish few" -- were

his syndicalist successors. He does not shrink from saying the Holiday is "a *holy* day, and ours is to be of holy days the most holy," for it "is established to establish plenty, to abolish want, to render all men equal!" He is (he insists) no innovator. "The *Sabbath* was a weekly festival" for the ancient Hebrews when they fed upon manna, in abundance, when "no servile work was done, and servants and masters knew no distinction". Then every seventh year was "the year of *release*", a "continued -- unceasing festival; it was a season of instruction; it was a relief to poor debtors". Benbow (a Christian, although he hosted "infidel chapels" where blasphemous rituals were performed and who was prosecuted for publishing pornography) clearly drew upon, and sought to reactivate deep, and deeply buried Protestant plebian dissident tendencies which went back to the English Civil War and even earlier. His vaguely communist economic program goes back to the Diggers. His hedonism, his longing to revive "not only religious feasts, but *political* ones", and (as we know from his soft-core porn -- examples of which are appended to this edition) his

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On a point of detail, the Congress will assemble somewhere in the middle of England under the auspices of "some great lord":

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The Grand National Holiday is an exemplary resolution of what might be called, echoing the Prisoner's Dilemma, the Revolutionary's Dilemma. To make a social revolution, people as they now are must make a revolution out of existing materials. Revolution requires continuity. But for it to count as a social revolution, people must live in a new and qualitatively different way. Revolution requires discontinuity. Rapidly and radically, what is living in the existing order -- where, to live at all, it is probably latent, disguised or deformed -- has to be freed of what is dead. Miscalculating which is which is disasterous. Marx and the syndicalists, for instance, thought that

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Every portion must be made work, and then the work will become so light, that it will not be considered work, but wholesome exercise. Can any thing be more humane than the main object of our glorious holiday, namely, to obtain for all at the least expense to all, the largest sum of happiness for all.

In other words, no Calvinist-Marxist nonsense here about work as a calling from God (or History) or labour as the realization of the human essence: the less work, the better. There is only a

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Benbow's Holiday hearkens back to pre-capitalist revelry in ways lost to

his syndicalist successors. He does not shrink from saying the Holiday is "a *holy* day, and ours is to be of holy days the most *holy*," for it "is established to establish plenty, to abolish want, to render all men equal!" He is (he insists) no innovator. "The *Sabbath* was a weekly festival" for the ancient Hebrews when they fed upon manna, in abundance, when "no servile work was done, and servants and masters knew no distinction". Then every seventh year was "the year of *release*", a "continued -- unceasing festival; it was a season of instruction; it was a relief to poor debtors". Benbow (a Christian, although he hosted "infidel chapels" where blasphemous rituals were performed and who was prosecuted for publishing pornography) clearly drew upon, and sought to reactivate deep, and deeply buried Protestant plebian dissident tendencies which went back to the English Civil War and even earlier. His vaguely communist economic program goes back to the Diggers. His hedonism, his longing to revive "not only religious feasts, but *political* ones", and (as we know from his soft-core porn -- examples of which are appended to this edition) his aspirations to sexual freedom place him squarely in the counter-cultural tradition of the Ranters.

The Holiday, that is, prefigured the permanent revolution its delegates to the extra-Parliamentary Congress were supposed to institutionalize. Indeed those on Holiday were not to wait on their delegates. Benbow suggested that working people store up enough food and money to get them through the first week of the Holiday without working. By then they should be organized enough to requisition what they need to make it through the next three weeks.

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rich liberals who had just won the vote for themselves thanks to working-class agitation, then turned around to deny the vote to the same workers -- would be happy to act on their liberal reform convictions by sharing out what they have to those embarked upon so worthy a cause,

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On a point of detail, the Congress will assemble somewhere in the middle of England under the auspices of "some great lord":

It should be a central position, and the mansion of some great liberal lord, with its out houses and appurtenances. The only difficulty of choice will be to fix upon a central one, for they are all sufficiently vast to afford lodgings to the members of the Congress, their lands will afford nourishment, and their parks a beautiful place for meeting.

It may be relied upon, that the possessor of the mansion honoured by the people's choice, will make those splendid preparations for the representatives of the sovereignty of the people, that are usually made for the reception of a common sovereign.

Benbow was no theorist or seer. He held a rather simplistic sub-Enlightenment opinion that the people were enslaved by their elite-enforced ignorance (there's a lot more to it than that). Into the 1850's (when

he is lost to view) he agitated mainly for universal suffrage, something which, once won a decade later, never did level the class system in Britain. In other capitalist class societies -- the United States, for instance -- there never existed the monarchs, aristocrats and bishops Benbow mostly (but not, to be sure, entirely) blamed for the oppression of the people. The American experience proves that exploitation is very effective (perhaps more effective) without these archaic social residues.

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Productivism and workerism proved to be ideologies of capitalism.

Benbow's resolution of the Dilemma, in contrast, in retrospect appears Revolutionary if incomplete. The Holiday tapped collective memories of co-operative accomplishment and communal festivity. It tapped individual memories of shorter hours of work, many more holidays, and relative autonomy in production. The Sabbath the workers remembered was indeed, as Benbow reminded them, a *sacred* time -- but the sacred was by then a contested concept. For the Dissenters (heirs to the Puritans) the Sabbath was a day of abstinence from work, certainly, a day of rest, but it was also a day of prayer, public worship and abstinence from enjoyment. For most workers, rest and recreation in fellowship with one another was the essence of the sacred. Its religious character was diffuse, permeating ordinary

radical thinking.) It was now necessary for "the many", "the people", the "productive classes" to think of themselves on a national scale in order to act for themselves on a national scale:

When they fight for themselves, then they will be a people, then will they live, then will they have ease, gaiety, pleasure and happiness; but never until they do fight for themselves

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Holiday). The Holiday interrupted the vicious circle of self-perpetuating proletarian political incapacity orchestrated from above.

Benbow was not just a plebian putting a proletarian spin on scraps of utilitarian doctrine as so many "Radicals" then did. He espoused the greatest happiness of the greatest number, but he had his own ideas what that entailed, and share-the-wealth and the overthrow of inherited privilege were only part of the program. Benbow appreciated that the quality of life was more than a matter of redistributing the wealth and enfranchising the workers. Sounding very much like the "Young Marx" or some other Left Hegelian, Benbow says:

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conservative lords too) have been stripped of most of their wealth and reduced, in some cases, to charging admission to tourists to view their stately homes. But this has not changed the fact that, as all Britons are well aware, Britain is still a capitalist class society, if not a particularly prosperous progressive one. The working class is still, in current argot, *knackered*.

Benbow's enduring interest is not as a prophet -- although, as prophets go, he compares favourably to Marx -- but as formulating, for his time and place, a solution to the Revolutionary's Dilemma. Whether it would have worked we'll never know. As Benbow's modern editor SA Bushell explains, there was serious opposition to Benbow's proposal even within the organization which published it, and efforts to commence the Holiday proved abortive. Although what Benbow expected of the Holiday and the Congress is rather vague, they were clearly to redress both political and economic injustice, which the Radical Whig tradition had always regarded as interrelated (this was "corruption", not a generic term of moralistic abuse but a term of art in radical libertarian ideology). Benbow's ideas lost relevance when radical and/or working-class activism diverged into discrete political and economic channels (and into more than one of each). Benbow himself seems to have devoted the rest of his life to political reform -- specifically, to enlarging the electorate. Others pursued economic improvements through trade-union organization. The politically- and the economically-orientated in turn split into reformist and revolutionary currents, a distinction Benbow would not have considered meaningful, although it was soon to become crucial.

What is living in Benbow's celebrated tract? Maybe more than

there ever has been between his time and ours. It is a concrete and plausible resolution to the Revolutionary's Dilemma in the form it assumed at that conjuncture and, as such, an example which makes the Dilemma vivid for us, although it assumes other forms today. But, as editor Bushell contends, the Holiday might actually be worth trying today, if the General Strike were reconceived as an unauthorized Holiday: perhaps "the old strike idea might gain in popularity if we reverted to the old description". After all, the counter-cultural revolutionaries have never had any objection go a universal work stoppage, indeed, they are more into it than the syndicalists, for they see no reason why it should ever end. Productive activity, to be sure, would eventually have to resume, but work might not have to. Something Benbow said about the Holiday -- something no advocate of the General Strike ever seems to have said -- is that it is an opportunity for *reflection*, "to get rid of our ignorant impatience, and to learn what it is we do want". To think freely, unhurriedly.

The Holiday is everything the General Strike could be and more. It's something all anti-authoritarians should be able to agree on, as they all want *at least* that much to happen to eviscerate corporate and state power. That much accomplished, the people can decide if they want to go back to work under workers' councils or federated trade-unions or never go back to work at all. Probably some people will make one choice, other people others. Maybe, after an initial phase of experimentation, some arrangement will shake out which accomodates what is living in these various systems. Anyone who genuinely desires universal freedom ought not to shrink from a real opportunity to test what form (or lack thereof) she thinks freedom would take. Why not take a Holiday and see what happens?



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So far the Holiday is continuous with a still-remembered and not entirely vanished past. What then is revolutionary and discontinuous about it? Mainly this. Traditional community was a matter of custom, not conscious contrivance, and it was loosely organized. As such it was

radical thinking.) It was now necessary for "the many", "the people", the "productive classes" to think of themselves on a national scale in order to act *for* themselves on a national scale:

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The Holiday recreates community on a national scale, the only scale on which it is now possible -- but this means simultaneous, generalized local actions. It recovers the festive, sacral content of holy days at the same time that it consciously withdraws labor from the nonproducing classes who enjoy its fruits. It is the General Strike and a party, the longest "rave" ever, all rolled up in one, freedom as necessity, necessity as freedom. Benbow is quite insistent that the Holiday precede and, at its own pace, produce the Congress. Only in conditions of unhurried leisure and unrestrained play is it treasonable to expect the people to deliberate upon the shape of the future and choose trustworthy delegates to the Congress.

Benbow's scheme unwittingly acknowledges -- and at the same times gets around -- the insight, at least as old as Plato and Aristotle and very much meaningful to the English ruling class, that wage-laborers, like slaves, are unfit to vote because they lack the economic independence to

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The existence of the working man is a negative. He is alive to production, misery and slavery -- dead to enjoyment and happiness.

In the worker there is (as Croce said there was in Marxism) something living and something dead. What was dead in the worker was what made him a worker, his work, "production", and what it entailed, misery and slavery. What was alive was whatever the worker preserved in the shrinking sphere of life apart from work. But what happened at work affected the worker on the job and off:

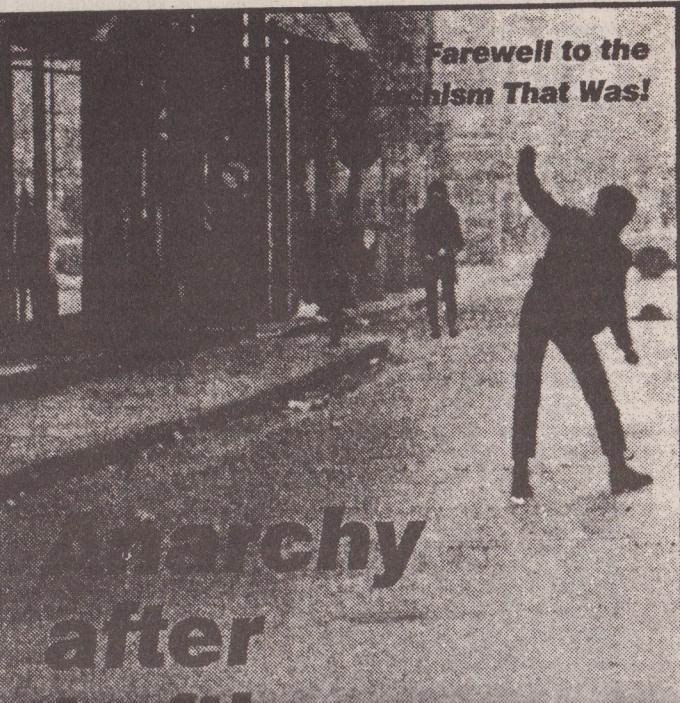
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Fundamentally it comes down to the possibility of self-activity (whether individual or collective or what combination of the two is an important but secondary concern).

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So far the Holiday is continuous with a still-remembered and not entirely vanished past. What then is revolutionary and discontinuous about it? Mainly this. Traditional community was a matter of custom, not conscious contrivance, and it was local, parochial. As such it was dismantled piecemeal by enclosure acts, having already been divided by class differentiation and perhaps religious disunion. It was difficult to perceive, from within, that the unique fate of a local community, which might be generations in the unfolding, was a moment in a national trend. Under these circumstances, Benbow's insistence that "ignorance is the source of all the misery of the many" is more than merely a naive relic of Enlightenment optimism. (Although it echoed another current of thought -- the "Jacobinism" of Thomas Paine and the Corresponding Societies of the 1790's -- which still influenced

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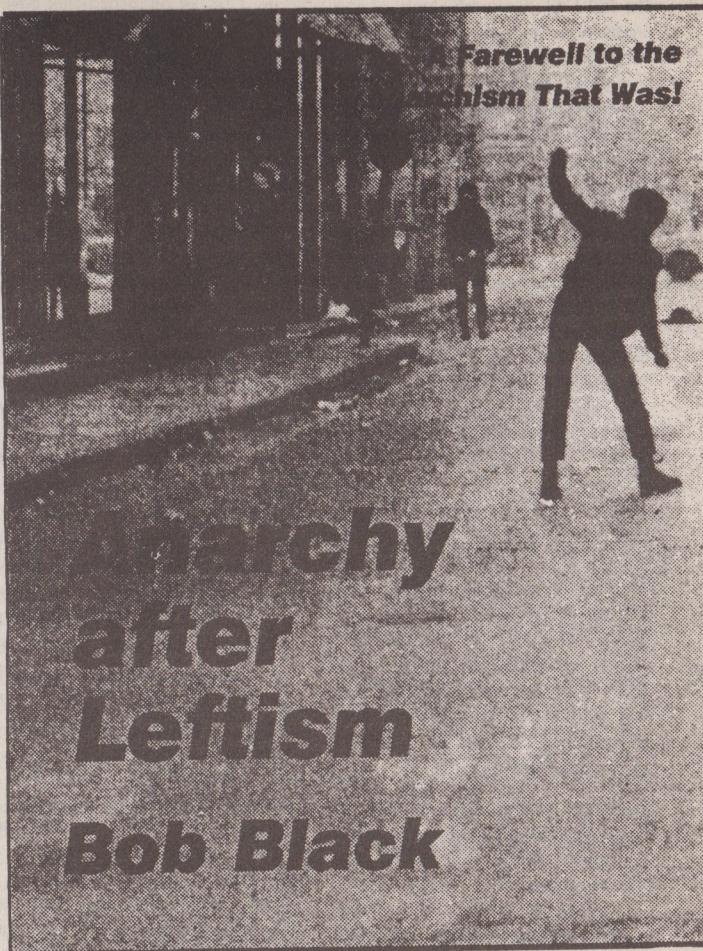
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We now know that as to means to the end. Benbow was mistaken in several respects. Universal suffrage never ushered in the Revolution -- on occasion, as Proudhon put it, "Universal suffrage is the counter-revolution". As for redistributing the wealth, it has never been tried, although it's been approximated for brief periods, in small areas, during the Russian and Spanish and other modern Revolutions. But significant redistribution of wealth has taken place, in Britain, for instance, and in the Scandinavian social democracies. Benbow would doubtless be delighted that the descendants of the "liberal lords" he despised (and the

enlarging the electorate. Others pursued economic improvements through trade-union organization. The politically- and the economically-orientated in turn split into reformist and revolutionary currents, a distinction Benbow would not have considered meaningful, although it was soon to become crucial.

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ANARCHY AFTER LEFTISM, Bob Black's ground-breaking critique of Steam Age anarchism available for from GAMO, PO Box 407, Camberley GU15 2FL, only £6.

THE BOY WHO CRIED WOLF

A short story by Henry O'Mad

One day little Jimmy was up on the hillside looking after the sheep. It was a good job as the sheep didn't really need looking after so he could just lie in the sun all day. As he was gazing into the distance he saw a movement in the trees. It was a movement he recognised. He got up quickly and ran down the hill to the village. "Wolf! Wolf!" he cried as he ran. When he arrived at the village, the people were already coming out of their houses to see what all the fuss was about. "Wolf, up on the hill near the sheep!" he panted.

The townspeople milled around, making preparations to go out and protect their sheep. They were just about to move off when a deep voice boomed out from behind them:

"What's all this about then?"

Everyone turned as a tall figure emerged from the large house overlooking the village square.

"Well, what's all this commotion?" he demanded.

"Oh, Mr Luples! There's a wolf on the hill near the sheep!" exclaimed one of the women.

Mr Luples was the village chief. He and his council were responsible for... well no-one was really sure what they were responsible for, but responsible they certainly were - the most responsible people for many miles around, and the villagers were very grateful that they were willing to give some of their precious time to the administration of their village.

"A wolf indeed!" huffed Mr Luples. "and who is responsible for this scaremongering?"

Jimmy stepped forward. "I saw a wolf, Mr Luples, Really I did."

"And just what did this wolf look like?" Mr Luples peered at the boy down his long nose.

"You don't know what it looked like..." interrupted Luples "...so how do you know it was a wolf?"

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Mr Luples leaned toward the boy "You were daydreaming. Everyone knows there are no wolves around here. Now go back to your work and let's hear no more of this nonsense."

By now everyone was drifting back into their houses. Jimmy wandered back towards the hill. He wondered if perhaps he had been mistaken. He arrived back at the meadow where the sheep were, and was about to sit down when he spotted a strange mark near the trees. He walked over to investigate.

There was a patch of fresh blood, and quite a lot of wool scattered around in the grass. There had obviously been some kind of struggle as a large area of vegetation was flattened.

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"What's the matter?" asked his mother, concerned at his panicky entrance. As he was explaining, his father walked in. He stood and listened, asked a few questions, then his mother said: "I think Mr Luples was mistaken, we had better speak to the council about this."

The next day found the whole village up on the hill looking at the site of the struggle. There was much consternation and eventually Mr Luples called everyone to order. "We have investigated this matter, and it is clear that what happened here is that a fox has killed a pheasant." He said, triumphantly. "One of my investigators found this feather not twenty yards away from the scene of the crime!" He held up a feather. "Mr Whitewash is our pheasant expert and he has confirmed it to be a pheasant feather."

The crowd murmured.

Jimmy pushed to the front. "But surely Mr Whitewash knows that this is the time of year when they change their feathers? There's feathers all over..."

"Boy, you have caused enough trouble here already. It has been noted before in the council chamber that you are not suited to this job. We have decided that you are to be replaced by my son, who will take the responsibility more seriously."

The villagers headed back to their homes. Jimmy was in disgrace, and had to work hard at home to regain his parents' favour, so he didn't visit the hillside very often. But he hadn't lost any of his conviction that he was right, although no-one would listen to him. He found that a lot of the villagers avoided him now. His mother told him that they didn't want to annoy Mr Luples.

On the few occasions that he did visit the hillside, he noticed that there were fewer and fewer sheep, but the council's reports said the opposite. The new shepherd was going from strength to strength, and the village was better off than ever before. All the people were happy.

Summer passed into autumn, and Jimmy realised what he must do. He set to work. He talked to many people, and he worked hard, both at school and in his chores. Everyone forgot about the little escapade and the village carried on with its life.

One evening, as the first chills of winter washed into the valley and slid tentative fingers up the hillside, Jimmy was sitting again on his favourite spot. But this time he had some friends with him. If anyone had seen them, they would have noticed a serious air about them. As the last light of the sun was disappearing behind them, they looked at each other and nodded. They arose as one and walked purposefully towards the village.

If the chief's son had seen what they were carrying he would have run ahead of them into the village and warned his father, but strangely he was nowhere to be seen...

project and to break down the barriers of prejudice surrounding wolves. Unfortunately, the HWF was unable to obtain land for the Centre. It fell foul of bad publicity, and of Scotland's landownership problem: less than 200 people own 95% of Invernessshire. If any readers have any ideas on how to resuscitate the project, sources of funding, or if you happen to own any of the remaining 5%, get in touch with the HWF at: 35 Church St, Kidlington, Oxford OX5 2BA. (Tel: 01865-373241).



With sincerest apologies to wolfdom. All the stories that induce fear of the wolf are bullshit. Cars have killed more people than were killed in the entire second world war, and the number of instances of people killed by wolves in the age of the automobile can be counted on one person's hand. Poodles have probably killed more people. (From food poisoning from bacteria in their shit caused by the disgusting glop that is called 'dog food'. As every thinking person knows, the meat industry is seriously dodgy. What on earth do they put in stuff that's labelled 'NOT for human consumption'?)

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THE BOY WHO CRIED WOLF

A short story by Henry O'Mad

One day little Jimmy was up on the hillside looking after the sheep. It was a good job as the sheep didn't really need looking after so he could just lie in the sun all day. As he was gazing into the distance he saw a movement in the trees. It was a movement he recognised. He got up quickly and ran down the hill to the village. "Wolf! Wolf!" he cried as he ran. When he arrived at the village, the people were already coming out of their houses to see what all the fuss was about. "Wolf, up on the hill near the sheep!" he panted.

The townspeople milled around, making preparations to go out and protect their sheep. They were just about to move off when a deep voice boomed out from behind them:

"What's all this about then?"

Everyone turned as a tall figure emerged from the large house overlooking the village square.

"Well, what's all this commotion?" he demanded.

"Oh, Mr Luples! There's a wolf on the hill near the sheep!" exclaimed one of the women.

Mr Luples was the village chief. He and his council were responsible for... well no-one was really sure what they were responsible for, but responsible they certainly were - the most responsible people for many miles around, and the villagers were very grateful that they were willing to give some of their precious time to the administration of their village.

"A wolf indeed!" huffed Mr Luples. "and who is responsible for this scaremongering?"

Jimmy stepped forward. "I saw a wolf, Mr Luples, Really I did."

"And just what did this wolf look like?" Mr Luples peered at the boy down his long nose.

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LETTERS

Send your letters to Oxford Green Anarchists, BCM 1715, London WC1N 3XX, but remember:-

- We print all letters received on a 'no censorship, no endorsement' basis. Your letters are your responsibility, not ours. We think readers are grown up enough to think for themselves, so won't usually comment on letters we print -- even those we don't agree with -- unless asked. The only exception to this are letters from fascists and other such bigots and piss-takers. These will be binned, though we will note their arrival.
- We will ruthlessly edit all letters we think too long or boring. So keep 'em short so everyone can have their say too. Cut letters are marked with a [] with the original number of words inside the bracket.
- If you don't want your letter, your name or your address printed, make sure we know.

HIT-LIST ICKE TYPES

Dear GA,

noting the article in your recent edition slagging off Rainbow Ark, isn't it about time you published their addresses, along with those of David Icke, Nexus, New Dawn, etc, encouraging readers & militant greens to bombard them with bricks, junk mail, pizzas, etc? Can't you see there is no place for these quacks and antisemites in rad. politix? And haven't

you noticed that your old address, The Inner Bookshop, Oxford, has advertised in the latest edition of Nexus? Let's hope you, AFA, EF!, etc no longer have any assoc' with it. Put your actions into words - hitlist Nexus, Icke, etc. If you'd done this earlier is possible that 111 Magdalen Rd. wouldn't be in Nexus - which might of course be some kind of entrapment, similar to what Hepple set you and which it is suspected Nexus may be trying on others.

Yours, @@E of London

- GA replies: Suggesting others draw up

hit-lists sounds more like Hepplesque entrapment to us and suggesting mailing them bricks &c when they're not paying for postage just sounds like backhanded advertising for them! If you feel so strongly about it, why don't you draw up this hit-list? Not such a good idea now?

We resent your insinuation that we won't do this list because of a past association with the Inner Bookshop, Oxford. They're amongst our least favourite people, proprietor Ruth Ashcroft being a Thought Police witness against us during the Gandalf trial. We closed our box there in early-1995 precisely because it was selling stuff by Icke, Hunt &c and called on other box-holders to move with us -- none did as they were less concerned about Cheke and Ashcroft profiting from jew-baiting. While Oxford GA's moved heaven and earth to stop Icke speaking at Bicester in 1996, Oxford AFA did nothing, preferring to look for fascist graffiti in pub toilets across north Oxfordshire.

MILLENIUM MANIFESTO

Dear GA, in your review of the Anarchist

Communist Federation's *Where There's Brass There's Muck*, you ask, "What does the ACF think future society without monoculture, mass production and urbanisation will look like?" In our new publication *Beyond Resistance: A Manifesto for the Millennium* the ACF states, for the first time, its vision of an anarchist-communist society. In a far-ranging description of a future world we propose an end to the artificial division between rural and urban, with more or less densely-occupied green spaces harbouring homes, workspaces, gardens, plays for play and pleasure as well as education and creativity. Industrial methods of agribusiness will be replaced by systems of sustainable, smaller-scale, probably wholly organic growing technics. We believe that technics to have fair and efficient ways to share resources and energy already exist on a global basis, using windpower, biomass, combined heat and solar power wherever ensible and useful. Mass production and consumption will cease as the very nature of work and social relations alter. There will be no place for useless work such as the mass production of goods for profit or maintaining social control. All of these things will occur as one aspect of a thoroughgoing revolution in the way we

relate to the world abnd each other, based on principles such as equality, diversity and sustainability. Because we come from a class struggle perspective, the ACF states categorically that you cannot achieve and preserve an ethical society without an end to nation-states, money and the profit-motive, the exercise of Power, Authority and Violence by a ruling class, all aspects (social, political and economic) of the one system, capitalism, our enemy. *Beyond Resistance* is available for £2 from ACE c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX - I hope you'll review it in the future and that anyone interested in being paert of a more united opposition to the environmental and social destructiveness of the ruling class will give it a read.

Solidarity, Jerry Spenser, Merseyside ACF, PO Box 110, L69 8DP.

ALSO RECEIVED

We lost three or four letters to a formatting error this issue. We remember Damian of Sheffield wrote something in about spelling but we're damned if we can remember any of the others. Write in again and we'll publish next time. Until then -- sorry!

- Send books, pamphlets and new zines for review to **Oxford Green Anarchists, BCM 1715, London WC1N 3XX**. Reviews from readers, projects and survival tips also welcomed but keep 'em short and send us a photocopy of the cover of what you're reviewing.
- Send records, tapes and music zines and reviews to **Alder Valley Anarchists c/o PO Box 407, Camberley GU15 3FL**. AVA can also do distribution through QA Mail Order.

BOOKS



MILLENIUM BY HAKIM BEY. £5 FROM GAMO, PO BOX 407, CAMBERLEY GU15 3FL.

This latest book is introduced as updating Bey's thought by five years, from *Immediatism*. He argues that the Millennium dawned in 1989-91 when the Berlin Wall fell and the Eastern Bloc with it. Bey thinks that the only way to resist the totalising New World Order mono-culture is directly, by revolutionary action, rather than by *TAZ*'s tactics of refusal and withdrawal:

The 20th century ended five years ago; this is the millennium. Where there is no second, no opposition, there can be no third, no neither / nor. So the choice remains: -- either we accept ourselves as the "last humans" or else we accept ourselves as the opposition.

This said, Bey can't quite leave his temporary autonomous zones. When he refers to the Third World as "the no-

Bosnia to liberals was that it was a mutually tolerant, multi-cultural society before the serpent of nationalism slid free into it. Even if he had a coherent analysis of nationalism, Bey forgets Perlman's lesson that *all* nationalism is "a form of ethnic imperialism". Having established a group identity, it's easier to impose it on others than it is to go beyond that to develop and tolerate individual identities.

These same criticisms apply in terms of religion and Art and Bey sees even these manifesting in a nationalist manner:

Arctic shamanism may re-emerge as an "ideology" for the self-determination of certain Siberian republics

His suggestions that a Dalai Lama-ruled "Free Tibet" might serve as a spiritual Cuba for the 21st century and that an independent Ulster would resolve the Irish question are also particularly whacky.

At root, Bey's problem is not one of nationalism, but of symbolisation. He quotes the *New York Times* comment that the Zapatista's rising is "the first postmodern revolution" because he's as wedded to and uncritical of language as any postmodernist. Absurdly maligning John Zerzan for having written "an essay against humour", Bey goes on to argue

as long as you're going to accept culture on some level you're certainly going to have to accept humor.

As if there was no laughter for the vast majority of human history, which was pre-symbolic! Bey has to attack Zerzan's origins analysis because it's so much more radical than his own. It shows that to speak for nationalism & against separation is an insurmountable contradiction, that the weapons of the ruling class will

specialist area), though the emphasis isn't exclusively on defensive tactics. As an anthropo-logical document of the anti-roads movement, the section on camp living is illuminating, with its warnings against burn-out, lists of GE diseases and handy illustrations of prominent ecto-parasites. Yuk!

Road Raging is refreshingly non-judgemental on questions like criminal damage, quoting suffragette Emily Pankhurst that

The argument of the broken window is the most valuable argument in modern politics

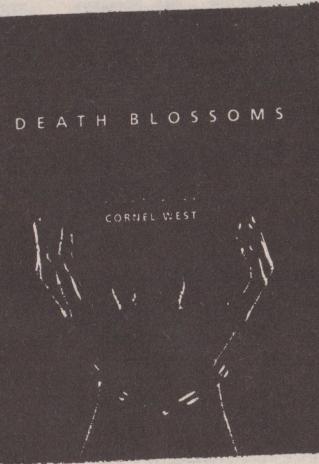
and generally reflecting the EF! consensus that activists should do whatever they feel appropriate under the circumstances. Less sussed is the section on dealing with violence, recommending we 'curl up in a ball or run away' rather than defending ourselves, and on dealing with infiltration ('too much bother'). EF! are already taking onboard more sensible and practical suggestions in these areas.

NOT FOR RENT BY STACY WAKEFIELD AND GRRT. £6 FROM GAMO, P O BOX 407, CAMBERLEY GU15 3FL.

This book's a snapshot of political activists, squatters and independent cultural workers around in 1995. The interviews in this book are personal, informative and inspiring. They cover this from punks to raves, ecology to feminism, squatting and road protests to bookshops and much more. They talk to *SQUALL*, the No M11 Campaign, Hackney Squatters Centre, the Rainbow Centre, Aardvark Centre, 125 Manchester, Danbert Nobacon, Headache, 1 In 12, Desert Storm, Pollok Free State, the Autonomous Centre of Edinburgh, DJ eh² ONE, Exodus Collective, Spacehead as well as contact addresses, bands, labels, and independent publications. A great and inspiring book -- see if you can spot people you know. Buy two copies.

McDonalds nutrition expert Dr Syndey Arnott actually admitted there was a connection between junk food and cancer when read the words of the offending London Greenpeace leaflet by Dave Morris. Rather than allow the McLibel Two victory on the issue of diet, Bell and McDonalds lawyers then disgracefully changed the terms of the argument to legally magic away this definition and keep the mega-corporation in business.

There are some whacky aspects to the book -- comparing the McLibel Two to Ray Kroc, founder of McDonalds, for example -- but it nonetheless well worth reading as an important document in how to bring a corporation to book.



DEATH BLOSSOMS BY MUMIA ABU-JAMAL. PRICE FROM THE PLOUGH PUBLISHING HOUSE, FARMINGTON, PENN-SYLVANIA 15437, USA

In popular mythology, death blossoms bloom under the scaffold of a man wrongly executed. Mumia Abu-Jamal's *Death Blossoms* is his second book written from Death Row, where he has unjustly languished for the last 14 years. Published by his Bruderhof supporters, *Death Blossoms* covers a much broader range of topics than Mumia's first book, *Live From Death Row*, and deals particularly with issues of spirituality and MOVE Belief.

MOVE started with John Africa, who Mumia describes as

a man blessed with shimmering wisdom, enormous patience, and powerful passions. He did what healers do: he healed. He did what teachers do: he taught. He did what carpenters do: he built. Using neither nails nor lumber, he constructed from the fabric of the heart a tightly knit, cohesive body of brothers and sisters called MOVE.

MOVE's Belief in a reverence for all life is akin to the visionary consciousness experienced by Christian nature-myrsics like Francis of Assissi but it's made clear in Pam Africa's anecdote (reproduced here as

VIVISECTION UNVEILED



An exposé
of the
medical futility
of
animal experimentation

Dr TONY PAGE

VIVISECTION UNVEILED BY DR TONY PAGE. £6.99 FROM THE SPENDLOVE CENTRE, CHARLBURY OX7 3PQ.

Another restating of the Reuschian abolitionist case against vivisection, *Vivisection Unveiled* focuses specifically on the differences not just between humans and animals but between different species of chimp, our supposed nearest relatives in evolutionary terms, and differences caused by age, gender &c to show that vivisection is futile, that results can be fixed simply by selecting particular lab animals. Moving on from primates to other lab animals, Page shows that the



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This said, Bey can't quite leave his temporary autonomous zones. When he describes the Third World as "the no-go zone of that one single unified world of Capital", we're left wondering what exactly the difference is between a "no go zone" and an "autonomous zone".

Unlike in previous books, Bey isn't very strong on practical 'how to' suggestions in *Millennium*. On a theoretical level, he posits particularity as the antidote to the global hegemony of the New World Order -- in nationalism, religion, Art. Bey argues

the one shining example that I might be able to come up with would be the Zapatistas in Mexico, defending their right to be different, essentially. They want to be left alone in peace as Mayan Indians, but they're not forcing anybody else to become Mayan Indians.

What a shining example of Bey's world-renown bullshit! The Zapatista

to impose it on others than it is to go beyond that to develop and tolerate individual identities.

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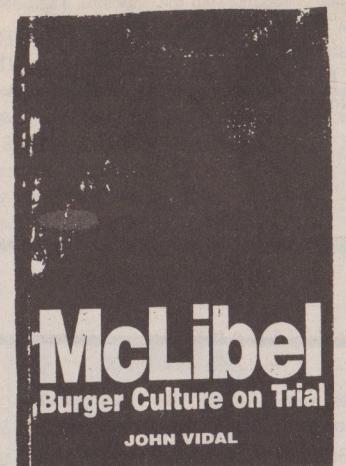


ROAD RAGING. £3 FROM ROAD

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McLIBEL BY JOHN VIDAL. £15.99 FROM MACMILLAN, 25 ECCLESTON PLACE, LONDON SW1W 9NF

Although written before the final verdict was announced, *McLibel* gives valuable insight both into UK's

and international politics and a useful document in how to bring a corporation to book.

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We thought Page's own original contribution as a doctor of Literature, Shakespeare and Wagner's opposition to vivisection, was a real digression from the main argument. Who cares what an anti-Catholic popularist and a *volkish* anti-Semite thought on the subject? Queen Victoria was against vivisection -- so what? The question as far as abolitionists are concerned, surely, is whether vivisection is scientifically justified or not.

Page more than makes up for this in his closing chapter where he uses leaked

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MOVE's Belief in a reverence for all life is akin to the visionary consciousness experienced by Christian nature-mystics like Francis of Assisi but it's made clear in Pam Africa's anecdote (reproduced here as *Men of the Cloth*) that MOVE's Belief is practical and directed outwards, empowering a revolutionary social critique

Organised religion as a whole is rejected, even Black nationalists ("Christians in bow ties") who've rejected slavery that Judeo-Christianity was used to justify for so long. Instead MOVE argue 'God' is within and between people. Mumia's essay, *Meeting With A Killer*, illustrates how a condemned man, given the opportunity by his captors to kill another that killed his child, instead forgives him. This is not only a critique of the capital punishment system as more brutalised than those it condemns, it is an assertion of the worth of all Life against a system designed to destroy it. Mumia's book works on the same principle and should be read.

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What a shining example of Bey's world-renown bullshit! The Zapatista movement is clearly more motivated by the distinctly non-indigenous ideology of "anarcho-syndicalism", as Bey later acknowledges, and the EZLN's struggle is significantly challenging traditional Mayan culture, particularly on the question of the role and status of women. They're fighting the massive impoverishment imposed by NAFTA and appealing to others to fight it on the same grounds -- this is the basis of the Zapatista's international support, not any concerted attempt by them to turn Chiapas into a folk museum.

Bey, of course, only argues for *Leftist* nationalist causes, though by arguing it's about identity and not equality, he only distinguishes between them on the basis of prejudice and hearsay, rather than analytically. The Bosnian Muslims are described as a "tribal" group, for example, whereas the whole appeal of

absurdly maligning John Zerzan for having written "an essay against humour", Bey goes on to argue

as long as you're going to accept culture on some level you're certainly going to have to accept humor.

As if there was no laughter for the vast majority of human history, which was pre-symbolic! Bey has to attack Zerzan's origins analysis because it's so much more radical than his own. It shows that to speak for nationalism &c and against separation is an insurmountable contradiction, that the weapons of the ruling class will always serve them and turn on us.

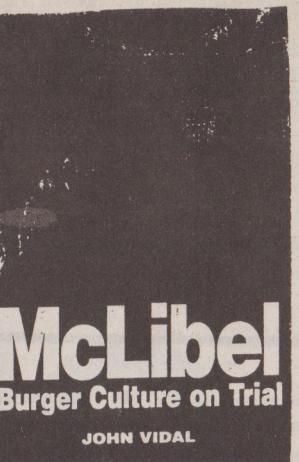


ROAD RAGING. £3 FROM ROAD ALERT!, P O BOX 5544, NEWBURY, BERKSHIRE RG14 5FB.

Road Alert produced excellent briefings during the Newbury campaign and this book shows they haven't been slacking since January. *Road Raging* brings together all the tactics developed by the anti-roads movement in UK currently under one cover and is likely to be its Bible for the next few years, a sort of above-ground version of *Eco-defence* or, better, *Ozymandias*, which they're good enough to reference.

Particularly useful are references to treehouse-building (though more *outré* designs were recently seen at Manchester airport), tripods, and tunnel construction (though 'hands-on' experience is recommended for this

talk to *SQUALL*, the No MITT Campaign, Hackney Squatters Centre, the Rainbow Centre, Aardvark Centre, 125 Manchester, Danbert Nobacon, Headache, 1 In 12, Desert Storm, Pollok Free State, the Autonomous Cebntr of Edinburgh, DJ eh² ONE, Exodus Collective, Spacehead as well as contact addresses, bands, labels, and independent publications. A great and inspiring book -- see if you can spot people you know. Buy two copies.



McLIBEL BY JOHN VIDAL. £15.99 FROM MACMILLAN, 25 ECCLESTON PLACE, LONDON SW1W 9NF

Although written before the final verdict was announced, *McLibel* gives valuable insight both into UK's longest-running libel trial and into the corporation foolish enough to spent £10m on it. The story of the *McLibel* trial was originally to be told by Dave Morris and Helen Steel themselves but MacMillan bottled it. Still, the *McLibel* Two's afterword in this book show they broadly approve of what it says.

John Vidal powerfully illustrates the 'David v. Goliath' contest with his opening scene, showing the *McLibel* Two trying to prepare their case on the rush hour tube to court whilst McDonalds were employing the most experienced and expensive lawyers in London. Despite this, the many slings by the prosecution and biases by Mr Justice Bell are laid bare, many of which have been glossed over in discussions of what McDonalds was found guilty of. For example,

VIVISECTION UNVEILED BY DR TONY PAGE. £6.99 FROM THE SPENDLOVE CENTRE, CHARLBURY OX7 3PQ.

Another restating of the Reuchian abolitionist case against vivisection, *Vivisection Unveiled* focuses specifically on the differences not just between humans and animals but between different species of chimp, our supposed nearest relatives in evolutionary terms, and differences caused by age, gender &c to show that vivisection is futile, that results can be fixed simply by selecting particular lab animals. Moving on from primates to other lab animals, Page shows that the most commonly used, rats, are used only because they are small, cheap and usually docile, not because there's any sensible comparison to be made between them and people. Indeed the list of differences Page cites includes them, being highly sensitive to sunlight and other bizarre quirks.

We thought Page's own original contribution as a doctor of Literature, Shakespeare and Wagner's opposition to vivisection, was a real digression from the main argument. Who cares what an anti-Catholic popularist and a *volkish* anti-Semite thought on the subject? Queen Victoria was against vivisection -- so what? The question as far as abolitionists are concerned, surely, is whether vivisection is *scientifically* justified or not.

Page more than makes up for this in his closing chapter where he uses leaked Swiss drug company minutes and the blatherings of Mark Matfield, Research Defence Society sharmonger-in-chief and security equipment salesman, to show that the viv / pharm / chwem community don't even believe in the efficacy of vivisection.

A couple of points that did concern us on reading *Vivisection Unveiled* were that Page is so keen to establish distance between humankind and animals that he seemed ill-equipped to deal with cases where animal exploitation *does* benefit humans (most obviously, eating them, unhealthy though that may be), and also he doesn't go very far in suggesting how vivisection should be thought, given that the vivisectors themselves admit its useless and continue with it anyway.

a man blessed with shimmering wisdom, enormous patience, and powerful passions. He did what healers do: he healed. He did what teachers do: he taught. He did what carpenters do: he built. Using neither nails nor lumber, he constructed from the fabric of the heart a tightly knit, cohesive body of brothers and sisters called MOVE.

MOVE's Belief in a reverence for all life is akin to the visionary consciousness experienced by Christian nature-mystics like Francis of Assisi but it's made clear in Pam Africa's anecdote (reproduced here as *Men of the Cloth*) that MOVE's Belief is practical and directed outwards, empowering a revolutionary *social* critique

Organised religion as a whole is rejected, even Black nationalists ("Christians in bow ties") who've rejected slavery that Judeo-Christianity was used to justify for so long. Instead MOVE argue 'God' is within and between people. Mumia's essay, *Meeting With A Killer*, illustrates how a condemned man, given the opportunity by his captors to kill another that killed his child, instead forgives him. This is not only a critique of the capital punishment system as more brutalised than those it condemns, it is an assertion of the worth of all Life against a system designed to destroy it. Mumia's book works on the same principle and should be read.

RED, YELLOW & BLUE MAKE WHITE BY PROF. RICHARD LACEY. £9.99 FROM CARTLON MANOR PUBLISHING, NR. YEADON LS19 7BE

Whilst sections of the direct action movement have been paying close attention to Prof. Lacey, ostracised by the government's scientific establishment for telling the truth about BSE, Prof. Lacey has evidently been paying equally close attention to the direct action movement.

Although *Red, Yellow & Blue's* central character is liberal journo Michael Johnson, Prof. Lacey's novel is really about the campaign of an anonymous cell of Green guerrillas who make devastating attacks on Britain's infrastructure without stating demands



or claiming responsibility. *City-Death* author Steve Booth was considering writing a follow-up about the Irrationalists but with this, Prof. Lacey has effectively written such a book already. Like Booth, Prof. Lacey is a decent, no-nonsense man disgusted and enraged by an indecent system blind to Reason as it's built on greed and lies. Characters use the same sort of plausible and ingenious 'fiendish devices' to revenge themselves on the system and there is even the same sort of authorial interjection (eg. Lacey's tirade against Christmas (Chapter 5)). As with *City-Death*, Lacey's writing style is a bit clunky in places, we noticed the odd technical error -- LSD is tasteless, odourless and colourless and so wouldn't need anything to mask it; RAF Lakenheath is actually a US airbase &c -- and we were surprised he was so against research showing the dangers of organo-phosphorous poisons, but this is a sincere book written with much conviction and some humour (especially the 'sting in the tail' that ends the book).

Critics might also say *Red, Yellow & Blue* suggests Prof. Lacey is "paranoid, a conspiracy theorist" but he best responds to that himself in Chapter 2, which features unexpected blizzards causing traffic chaos:

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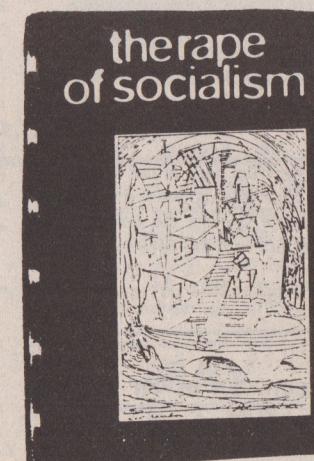
"Philosophy entered by sheer accident". Feyerabend bought bundles of second-hand books and read the leftover philosophy books to cut his losses, thereby discovering the power of reason. Then he was called up into the Wehrmacht. He toyed with joining the SS - the uniform looked better -- but another tome ridiculed *Mein Kampf* and so got posted to a shit work detail in France. His attitudes were random, diffident, off-beat. He lived in ignorance of events, never hearing about Pearl Harbour, for example.

Feyerabend fought on the Eastern Front, was commissioned and did two stupid things. The first, in March 1944, as a piece of bravado, he urged people forwards to occupy a village and was awarded the Iron Cross. Almost at the end of World War 2, while directing traffic, he was shot in the face, hand and spine by a sniper. From then onwards, Feyerabend was impotent, and had to walk round on a stick.

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Feyerabend's best known book, *Against Method*, happened almost by accident, but the original publisher mangled or editing out the jokes. Feyerabend was hard put to put them back having lost the original manuscript. He attacks the dogmatism and fixed thinking of specialists. Controversially, Feyerabend argued that science is just too dangerous to be left to scientists and big business. It should be under democratic public control. He died in 1994 soon after finishing his biography. Altogether a fascinating and stimulating book about a man who tried to free people from theoretical tyranny.



THE RAPE OF SOCIALISM BY DONOVAN PEDELTY. £13.50 FROM PROMETHEUS PRESS, TIR CELYN, ABEREDW, BUILTH WELL, POWEYS LD2 3SQ.

For anyone out there that thinks things will be fine and dandy now Labour's in power or -- slightly more subtly -- that it's just the New Labour modernisers to blame if it doesn't work out that way, Donovan Pedelty's *Rape of Socialism* is a necessary antedote and purgative

He goes into great detail about Labour's involvement in arms trade corruption and general skullduggery, and how Labour was selling out from its inception. We thought his

How to make
CRITICAL MASS
Lessons and Ideas from the SF Bay Area Experience



own Critical Mass with flyer / sticker ideas, planning where to start, safety, xerocracy, getting the word out, traffic tactics, density, corks, red lights, breaking mass and many other tactics. Essential 'how to' guide for anyone interested.



THE REVOLUTION OF MODERN ART AND THE MODERN ART OF REVOLUTION BY THE ENGLISH SECTION OF THE SITUATIONIST INTER-NATIONAL. £2.75 FROM CHRONOS PUBLICATIONS, BM CHRONOS, LONDON WC1N 3XX.

Dating from 1967, this reprint is more accessible than most SI texts, although

depends on the success with which they can confront the most way-out point of social and intellectual revolt.

A minor text, but certainly worth checking out.



BOOMERANG PRESS
-1993-

HEATWAVE #1. £3.50 FROM BOOMERANG PRESS C/O BM CHRONOS, LONDON WC1N 3XX.

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Also worth checking out is Charles Radcliffe's *Seeds of Social Destruction*, analysing post-War youth movements (ravers in the early 1960s? Well, not that sort...) and Ben Clegg's *Revolutions of the 1960s*



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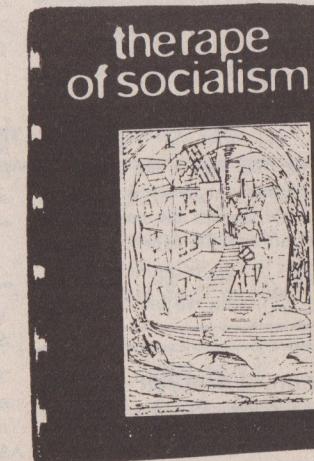
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PAMPHLETS

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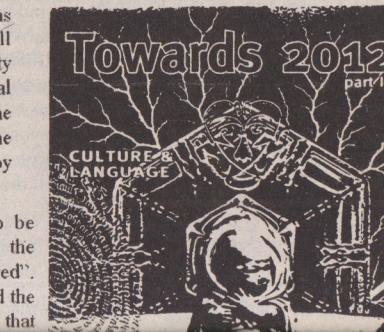
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NEW ZINES



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We wouldn't hesitate in recommending this book to anyone that wanted to read it, both as an inspiring eco-adventure story and as a mordant aside to the way the government has handled both Prof. Lacey and the food issues he has done such sterling service drawing attention to.

KILLING TIME BY PAUL FEYERABEND. PRICE FROM UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS.

The name 'Feyerabend' means "knocking off time" and the title is therefore a pun on the name of this impossible to categorise philosopher. Feyerabend was born in 1924. At the age of 14, his native Austria was swallowed up into Nazi Germany. He confesses an indifference to political circumstances around his early adult life, but this was to cost him dear. He

Front, was commissioned and did two stupid things. The first, in March 1944, as a piece of bravado, he urged people forwards to occupy a village and was awarded the Iron Cross. Almost at the end of World War 2, while directing traffic, he was shot in the face, hand and spine by a sniper. From then onwards, Feyerabend was impotent, and had to walk round on a stick.

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The philosopher Gilbert Ryle described Feyerabend as "clever and mischievous like a barrel of monkeys". Along with other philosophers, Feyerabend formed a road show:

Feigl represented the voice of reason while I defended more outlandish views. Having attacked each other before the astonished audience, we collected our fee, went to a restaurant and had a good time.

At the end of the 1960s, he got interested in the Berkeley Free Speech movement. A witch called Joan McKenna shouted out authoritarian replies and belittled students who asked questions. Talk dried up:

See, I give ridiculous authoritarian answers and you treat the students brave enough to resist like outcasts. No wonder professors can get away with anything...

The experiment could not last -- the Free Speech movement dried up -- supplanted by apathy and fear "over

TIR CELYN, ABEREDW, BUILTH WELL, POWEYS LD2 3SQ.

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It is important people read this dossier, both to make solidarity for the framed Italian militants and also to prepare themselves for similar abuse of conspiracy laws for political purposes in UK, as this is clearly part of a Europe-wide process. We'd have hoped the Gandalf prosecution would have been warning enough, but every little helps...

HEY! GET OUT OF OUR WAY. £1 FROM GAMO, P O BOX 407, CAMBERLEY GU15 3FL.

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Despite this, the feeling seems to be that "It is not enough to burn the museums. They must also be sacked". There's similar incoherence around the question of urbanism. It's argued that "Unitary urbanism is a critique, not a doctrine, of cities" but the only specific examples of cities having liberatory potential they can cite is the Detroit riot,

a purely Utopian affirmation. A city burnt to make a negro holiday ... shadows of most terrible, yet great and glorious things to come.

The sits critique of the orthodox Left as "sub-Christian" is as true today as it was then, as is what they have to say about counter-cultural recuperators:

The false intelligentsia -- from the CIA subsidised torpor of the late New Left to the sanctimonious little tits of *International Times* -- are as New Establishment whose tenure

with them. The first distinction is as pro-situationists and from *Heatwave* it becomes apparent why. The Provos White plans, which we took to be just parodies or jokes, were meant in earnest and there was the usual clique pandering to the media and trying to tame the revolutionary forces their ideas had unleashed, just like any other bunch of Leninoid vanguardists.

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NEW ZINES



TOWARDS 2012 #3. £4.50 UK / £8 OVERSEAS FROM THE UNLIMITED DREAM CO, P O BOX HP94, LEEDS LS6 1YJ.

With very high production values and 100+ pages long, *Towards 2012* takes its name from the Mayan 'millennium' when Chaos is supposed to manifest in a world-changing way.

This particular issue, the third in the series, is supposed to be on language and culture but nowhere analyses or

fundamentally challenges either as, for example, John Zerzan does. Mar-Garet Andreas' *Path of the Sacred Clown* was pretty interesting on the role of counter-culturals in *any* society but the only other essay on origins is by some anthropologist on about menstruation taboos who takes Engels' snickering bourgeois myth-making in *The Origins of the Family, Private Property & the State* seriously. Because there's no clear understanding of language and culture as tools of power, the sputings of chaos magicians like Genesis P-Orridge are uncritically reproduced (complete with a pic fetishising Hitler and Charles Manson, those other power junkies), even though these people are acting as their kind always have throughout the ages, manipulating others to their own selfish ends, even if those ends are now as trivial as promoting themselves as under-ground celebrities.

This all has an effect on the culture sections too. There's the whole bit about rave "techno shamans", hardly a title they'd happily accept if they knew more of the *original* shamans, whose manipulative magic was the first technology. There are softcore potted histories of rave, festival & movements by 'names' like Jim Carey and Megapolis's Fraser Clark but commodification and recuperation of counter-cultural trends isn't given half the attention it needs, certainly not enough to expose the Cyber-trip as an extension of the same 'conscious-ness expansion' marketing racket Tim Leary pushed from the 1960s on. This said, it was refreshing to see Doug Rushkoff, the Californian pseud behind *Cyberia*, being firmly told his seam was:

an escape route for thousands of would-be students who would like to be would-be rebels, by latching onto this they feel they're rebelling without actually having to go on the streets. A lot of this seems to be to do with image ... just an excuse to lay back and enjoy what's been given to them by sixties radicals

Predictably Rushkoff just 'agrees' with

Disobedience typically consists of a number of short essays interspersed with brief, pungent commentary on recent events. The essays are often groundbreaking because they address topics -- eg. childhood, education, graffiti, charity, opinion, belief -- that are often overlooked by other anti-totality commentators. The short news items are often dripping with sarcasm and irony, as they expose the absurdities and hypocrisies of everyday life lived in conditions of power.

Fifth Estate may have retreated into reformism and *Anarchy* into irregularity, but *Willful Disobedience* (like *Live Wild or Die!*) shows that American insurgency is still alive and kicking. Lucid and thought-provoking, this is contemporary anarchist writing of the best kind.

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FOURTH WORLD REVIEW #82. PRICE FROM 24 ABERCORN PLACE, LONDON NW8 9XP

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56 CRAMPTON STREET, LONDON SE17.

Excellent folksy songs. The 1926 Committee have the singer and a few of the members of the Proles and they were great too. Intelligent, witty and diverse songs about everything from the Zapatistas to pub fights, royalty to prison. Great anarchist stuff. Basically, buy this tape.

NO COMPROMISE CD BY VARIOUS ARTISTS. £13.99 FROM THE CAMPAIGN FOR FREE EDUCATION, P O BOX 332, HUDDERSFIELD HD1 3YD.

A benefit for the Campaign for Free Education with tracks from famous acts like the Suede, Senser, Dreadzone, Northern Uproar, Zion Train, Transglobal Underground, Ear Static, Cud, the Wedding Present, Utah Saints, Revolutionary Dub Warriors, Banco de Craig, Chumbawambas, Loop Guru, Moonflowers, New Model Army, and more. Let's face it, something for every student on this CD.

PROJECTS

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and former tribal wars like Rwanda and Burundi &c than use the surplus industrial capacity of the West for the benefit of everybody.

One way round this log-jam is LETS, where people barter their skills. The basic principle is sound but the problem is it starts from a low baseline -- people only want so much aromatherapy. Think of something like the old co-operative, but with much more participation and less bureaucracy. Suppose we set up a manufacturing co-operative?

Part of this idea of the Peoples' Workshop is to spread confidence and skills by making practical facilities available. People need to participate, not only in making things for themselves, but in generalised creative activity. We break the vice of specialisation by taking different places in the creative process ourselves. We stop the bureaucratic stranglehold on activity by insisting on full participation. The Peoples' Workshop shouldn't be something that people use just when they want something made, which they then drop as inconvenient until the next time.

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power junkies), even though these people are acting as their kind always have throughout the ages, manipulating others to their own selfish ends, even if those ends are now as trivial as promoting themselves as under-ground celebrities.

This all has an effect on the culture sections too. There's the whole bit about rave "techno shamans", hardly a title they'd happily accept if they knew more of the *original* shamans, whose manipulative magic was the first technology. There are softcore potted histories of rave, festival & movements by 'names' like Jim Carey and Megapolis's Fraser Clark but commodification and recuperation of counter-cultural trends isn't given half the attention it needs, certainly not enough to expose the Cyber-trip as an extension of the same 'consciousness expansion' marketing racket Tim Leary pushed from the 1960s on. This said, it was refreshing to see Doug Rushkoff, the Californian pseud behind *Cyberia*, being firmly told his scam was:

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Did you know that champagne poured into glasses washed in a dishwasher instantly goes flat?

Perhaps *4WR* should be renamed *Drunk Party Digest? "Champagne*

Score...

Issue 17 Spring 1997
Fat Women Group, The Wheel,
500 C, London WC1B 5AL

Editorial

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INTRODUCING THE PEOPLES' WORKSHOP

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Lots of people are already doing this. Someone might set up a bicycle repair co-op. Others are setting up a pottery collective. There are lots of things you just can't get anymore or are difficult to get hold of. Part of the function of the Peoples' Workshop would be to collect details of designs, specifications, manufacturing techniques so that it would be possible to say, manufacture a set of those William Morris Sussex rush-seated chairs. With this accent on quality and participation, it ought to be possible to build up a group of craftsmen to make these things, just for the sheer joy of making them. Peoples' lives would be changed or the better. Instead of standing on a production line making millions and millions of identical

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Towards 2012, Part V about the Apocalypse might well be worth checking out.

WILLFUL DISOBEDIENCE #1-4.
SASE FROM VENOMOUS
BUTTERFLY PUBLICATIONS,
828 ROYAL STREET #605, NEW
ORLEANS, LA 70016-3199, USA.

A photocopied zine of roughly 20 pages per issue, *Willful Disobedience* is one of the most vibrant publications around. Like the editor, all contributors remain anonymous, but the magazine includes material from the USA as well as translations of pieces from Germany, Italy and other places. The only thing uniform about this zine is the high quality of its contents. Written from a militantly anti-civilisation anarchist perspective, *Willful*

ambassador came to his dinner party and was an OK guy! Papworth has become famous for his recent outburst against supermarkets, for which truth he was defrocked from his position as a part-time Church of England vicar. He was interviewed for TV, who edited out all the best bits of his critical remarks about globalism and the way it is all going. Serve him right for trusting the media. We also learn that as a result of the supermarket shoplifting comment, Mr Plod wants to interview him about his part in the springing of George Blake back in 1966. Seems little point seeing as Pottle and Randle have already been acquitted for it.

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Perhaps 4WR should be renamed *Dinner Party Digest*? Champagne drinkers of the Fourth World unite, you have nothing to lose but your dishwashers!

WORKING CLASS TIMES #1.
PRICE FROM BOX 3241,
SALTLEY, BIRMINGHAM B8 3DP.

Evidently produced by a splinter of Class War, this pilot paper accuses the middle class of being the ruling class and calls for efforts to be devoted to dealing with them rather than Capital as a whole, or something like that.

Sorry if this summary sounds flippant, but this is just a bedrock workerist separatist tract, who's main role seems to be to encapsulate workerist ideology outside History (much like *Educating Who About What?* reviewed in QA47/48). Its focus seems to be industrial rather than

unemployment, nothing to do, and chronic fascist infestation.

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INTRODUCING THE PEOPLES' WORKSHOP

Capitalist companies make things like cars and washing machines, but charge the earth for them, rip off their workers with low wages. The goods are designed to break down, wear out, go out of fashion &c in a year or two, meaning it all goes into that landfill site. People have to keep going round that credit treadmill again to get new ones.

At the same time as this, there are millions of people out of work -- people with real skills and capacities, who could be making or creating useful things. The system is so geared up that the fat cats just get fatter and fatter, while the poor just get poorer and poorer. Meanwhile people in the Third World suffer unnecessary disease for want of simple things like medicines that cost 50p or want of a decent water supply, sewage &c. It's easier for the West to sell them arms

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This idea is not so much a specific workshop or anarchist 'factory' but more a state of mind. The capitalist system is based on the idea of competition -- you cut my throat, I cut yours. I know that people can get so much further with co-operation. This present system urges consumption, and seems hell-bent on turning the whole world into a rubbish tip. In the 1960s, Dutch anarchists, the Provos, came up with the White bicycle plan -- free public transport, available to everyone, on every street corner. If anarchists could put into effect just one scheme as good as that, we would



**FAT NEWS #17. £2.30 / 4 ISSUES
FROM FAT WOMEN'S GROUP,
THE WHEEL, WILD COURT,
LONDON WC2B 5AU.**

The focus of this short newsletter should be obvious from the title, though its solidarity extends to fat men like Arthur Younkin, a debtor jailed for eating too many sweets, if this issue's front page is anything to go by. The tone is positive and the comment informed. *Fat News* is also available on tape to subscribers.

MUSIC

**MORE OF THE SAME TAPE BY
THE 1926 COMMITTEE. £5 FROM
S GORE, BOX 26, 56A INFOSHOP.**

build up confidence and goodwill, and advertise our existence in a positive and practical way. We would undermine the whole free market mindset. So how do we get this idea of a Peoples' Workshop started?

SURVIVAL



HORICULTURAL HAPPENINGS

Kropotkin's *Fields, Factories and Workshops* is perhaps one of the most optimistic anarchist books ever written in that it suggests highly devolved, intensive techniques of production in agriculture and manufacturing will be used to meet the world's food needs. Here in GA we want to revive the idea of a gardening / vegetable-growing column. We want to know if any GA readers out there have allotments or ideas about growing stuff?

In many places it may still be possible to get an allotment, though you'd probably have to be registered with the poll tax. Some towns have sold their allotment grounds to property developers (monetary grubbers). In our town the allotment is squeezed in between the cemetery and railway line. Perhaps you have access to a garden or some space you can grow stuff. One idea might be a roof garden on top of an outhouse. You have top use what is available. Everybody should have

Obviously, the object is not just to grow vegetables, but also to help wildlife. One plant which encourages butterflies is Buddleia. It grows into a quite large bush. Thistles feed birds. There are some ugly weeds (no idea what these are) which you would have no hesitation about pulling up, but are tolerated because finches enjoy eating the seeds. We have a concrete puddle which we keep topped up with water for the birds, we get sparrows and blackbirds and a couple of ducks waddle into the garden every spring.

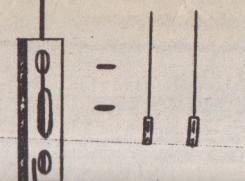
You don't need much more than a watering can and a tap to keep the plants watered. I always get told off for watering too much. The first thing I ever grew, as an 11 year old schoolboy, was a bean plant, only in the way that kids start projects off and then forget them, I forgot to water this bean and it died. Ever since then, I've been a compulsive plant waterer, but this is probably not a bad thing with all this global warming drought we've been having.

The main thing about a garden is just to have fun with it. Plenty of sun and fresh air, planting things and waiting to see what comes up. It beats TV and is a whole lot cheaper.

MAKE YOUR OWN PRISON KETTLE

Make sure electricity is off before placing appliance in water. You will know if its working properly as bubbles will float from blades and wires. DO NOT PUT FINGER IN WATER TO TEST TEMPERATURE (IT HURTS!).

• feed end of wires
holes on razor blades



LATE ZINES

ANARCHIST INTEGRALISM:

Aesthetics, Politics and the *Après-Garde*



by
Luther Blissett

ANARCHIST INTEGRALISM BY STEWART HOME. 10p FROM BM SENIOR, LONDON WC1 3XX.

Yet more pseudy artie fartie verbiage packed with pretentious footnotes from

COUNTER-CULTURE

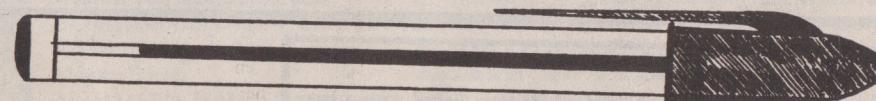
the state asset and black propagandist, Stewart "Truth is the Enemy" Home. This worthless toilet paper equates anarchism and fascism. Yes folks, that's it... It's not saying anything, we already know the Neoshit fabricator cannot distinguish between them. Proudhon was quoted favourably by fascists, therefore Proudhon must be fascist. Bakunin was a "proto-Fascist" and so on. Zerzan is attacked, articles from our own *Lancaster Bomber* quoted. John Moore, Leigh Starcross and even dear old Feebledom Press are attacked. Sheer unsubstantiated slander against the anarchist movement. High time Trans-Europa's errand boy Home was completely shunned by all anarchists.

Warsaw Uni; a review of the *Argentina: Origins & Today* exhibition at the National Ethnographic Museum in Warsaw; the text of a pamphlet by the Polish Initiative for the General Boycott of Chinese Products; and an essay called *Chaos Never Died* inspired by Hakim Bey's ontological anarchism. This ten-page, self-produced magazine is a worthwhile initiative -- a good starting point for anti-civilisation resisters in Poland. Polish-language readers are urged to support it. Although basically limited in distribution go Warsaw Uni and environs at present, this promising project can develop if supported. *Primitivus* welcomes correspondence and material for publication.



PRIMITIVUS #1. 1 ZL FROM SKR POCZT 55, 03-573 WARSZAWA, POLAND.

Primitivus is the first Polish anarcho-primitivist paper. This first issue includes a translation of the first half of John Moore's *Primitivist Primer* and of Richard Heinberg's *Primitivist Critique of Civilization*; an interview with anthropologist Ewa Nowicki from





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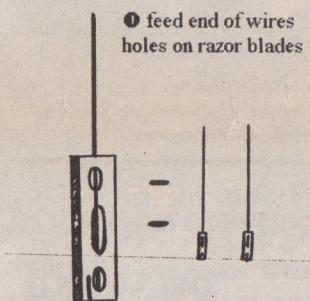
We have a small vegetable patch, with some carrots, leeks and spuds growing in there. We're also growing strawberries, although these take up a lot of space. It's possible to grow tomatoes in large flower pots on a windowsill. You don't need a greenhouse. Tomatoes tend to peter out towards the end of the year, but one time we had some off the bush or whatever you call a tomato plant at Christmas. It's also quite easy to grow something like parsley on a bit of spare ground near the washing line pole. You don't need a lot of space to grow

plants watered. I always get told off for watering too much. The first thing I ever grew, as an 11 year old schoolboy, was a bean plant, only in the way that kids start projects off and then forget them, I forgot to water this bean and it died. Ever since then, I've been a compulsive plant waterer, but this is probably not a bad thing with all this global warming drought we've been having.

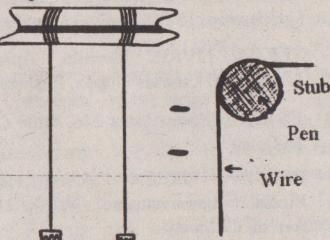
The main thing about a garden is just to have fun with it. Plenty of sun and fresh air, planting things and waiting to see what comes up. It beats TV and is a whole lot cheaper.

MAKE YOUR OWN PRISON KETTLE

Make sure electricity is off before placing appliance in water. You will know if it's working properly as bubbles will float from blades and wires. DO NOT PUT FINGER IN WATER TO TEST TEMPERATURE (IT HURTS)!



② Coil wires around pin keeping as gap of app. 1 1/2" between them. Leave stubs of app. 1" of coil protruding from top.



③ Insert Stubs into Connector holes on Stereo Lead



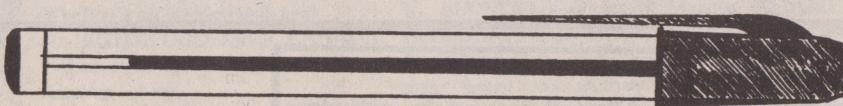
by
Luther Blissett

ANARCHIST INTEGRALISM BY STEWART HOME. 10p FROM BM SENIOR, LONDON WC1N 3XX.

Yet more pseudy artie fartie verbiage packed with pretentious footnotes from

movement. High time Trans-Europa's errand boy Home was completely shunned by all anarchists.

project can develop if supported. *Primitivus* welcomes correspondence and material for publication.



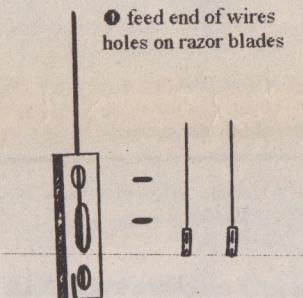
← 2 Bits of "Stiff" 1 Core Wire (6/7") →

column. We want to know if any *CA* readers out there have allotments or ideas about growing stuff?

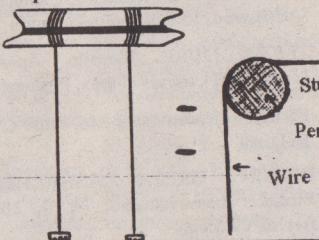
In many places it may still be possible to get an allotment, though you'd probably have to be registered with the poll tax. Some towns have sold their allotment grounds to property developers (monetary grubbers). In our town the allotment is squeezed in between the cemetery and railway line. Perhaps you have access to a garden or some space you can grow stuff. One idea might be a roof garden on top of an outhouse. You have to use what is available. Everybody should have somewhere to grow plants, even if it is just a window box or plant pot. Plants make you realize how we are tied to nature and dependent on things which grow. We can see how things change through the seasons, develop respect for it. People who grow things might be less likely to abuse nature -- it broadens your outlook on things.

We have a small vegetable patch, with some carrots, leeks and spuds growing in there. We're also growing strawberries, although these take up a lot of space. It's possible to grow tomatoes in large flower pots on a windowsill. You don't need a greenhouse. Tomatoes tend to peter out towards the end of the year, but one time we had some off the bush or whatever you call a tomato plant at Christmas. It's also quite easy to grow something like parsley on a bit of spare ground near the washing line pole. You don't need a lot of space to grow something, I suppose the thing to do is to start off with small stuff and work your way up to the full blown market garden -- don't try to grow too much at once.

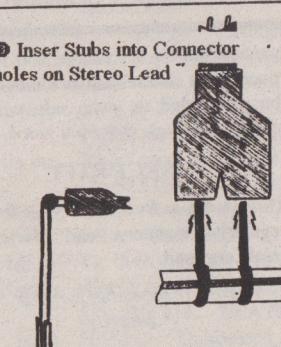
Garden Centres often have discount cards, where you can get some of the cost knocked off if you are a regular customer. If you're on the dole, this will help. Most of the plants we grow haven't cost us much, the spuds for example were bought potatoes that got buried under other vegetables in the rack and so didn't get eaten. Instead of throwing them away, we buried them. The strawberries started off as one plant, but they send out runners and we divided them up. Now we have about fourteen plants. Some plants were given by other gardeners or 'rescued' from wasteland (Don't go picking wild flowers, OK folks?).



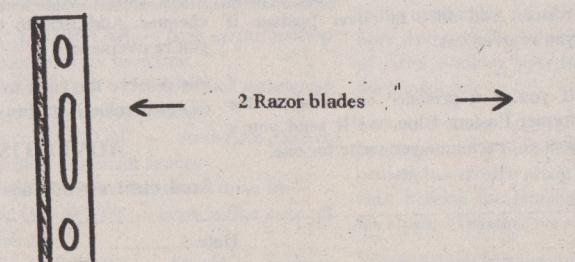
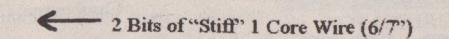
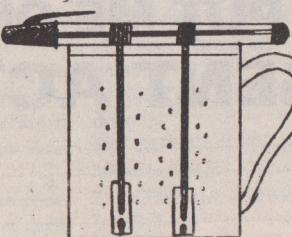
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② Insert Stubs into Connector
holes on Stereo Lead



④ Boil with pen in this position



Stereo A/C Mains C



THIS IS GREEN ANARCHISM

CIVILISATION IS EXPLOITATION

Mass society is too complex to work without specialisation. Specialised division of labour alienates us from each other and creates a hierarchy needed to co-ordinate production. Hierarchy divides society into the powerful and the powerless. The powerless are treated as objects to be exploited. Exploitation on grounds of class, gender, ethnicity and sexual preference is intrinsic to mass society. Mass society cannot be reformed. It must be replaced.

SMALL IS BEAUTIFUL

Mass society must be replaced with communities small enough for each person in them to be respected as an autonomous individual. In small communities, self-determination would replace hierarchy. You can't fight mass with mass. If our means and ends

are to be consistent, we must organise in networks of autonomous small groups to replace mass society.

LAND OR DEATH

Mass society alienates people from the Earth. By controlling the Earth's resources, the State controls society. We must end our dependence on the State by taking back the land and living self-sufficiently. By re-establishing our relationship with the Earth, we undermine the hierarchical thinking that is destroying it.

REVOLUTION ON THE PERIPHERY

Mass society needs resources from across the planet to survive. Those most exploited by it are those that work the land in the Third World, only to have the fruits of their labour exported to profit the rich. They have nothing to lose by taking back the land at the expense of

mass society. As less resources are imported from the Third World, mass society won't be able to come up with the goods in this society. Self-governing, self-sufficient small communities will be more needed and easier to establish as the State loses control of the rest of the planet.

AUTONOMY NOW

We must support the revolution on the periphery by making our own here. We must share the skills needed to survive without the State, create a culture of resistance to free us from the alienation of mass society, live free of exploitation by boycotting banks and multinationals, building an alternative green and black economy and defending ourselves and the Earth by taking direct action against military bases and labs, developers and industry, exploitation and bigotry.

THE NEXT ISSUE

WHICH WAY FORWARD FOR DIRECT ACTION?

Some six years on from the arrival of Earth First! in the UK it seems that we have reached a turning point. There has been a lot of debate lately as to the future direction we should take, with some people advocating the building of a mass movement to bring about revolution at all costs by broadening and diluting the issues, whilst others seem obsessed with ending industrial civilisation and living wild, through as yet undiscovered means. There is another group which is quite prepared to agree with either as long as they can be in charge of the office.

There is yet another group even larger than all the others put together who care little about the arguments and just get on with it! Most of these don't call themselves EF! because they associate the name with the first three.

This section puts forward one view, with the hope of encouraging debate. If enough replies are received, the next issue will cover the opposing views. It must be stressed that the following ideas are not a complete or entirely sound philosophy - just a starting point. Send your comments via BCM 1715, London WC1N 3XX.

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NEWS

GREEN ANARCHIST No. 49-50/Page 32

WINDMILL FARM

One of UK's last fur farms, in Dorset, was targeted by 120 demonstrators. They couldn't free the mink as there were heavies on-site although later the heavies were besieged in a pub for hours. Two arrests for scuffles when they made a break for it, but no charges.

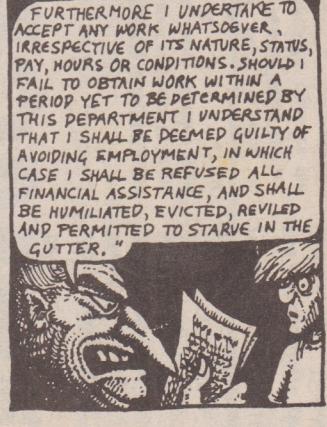
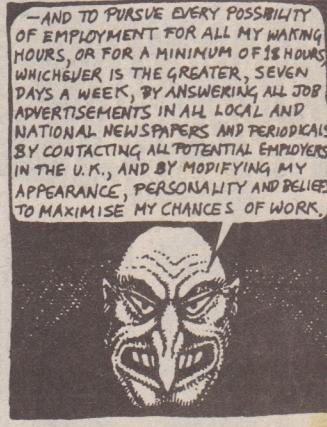
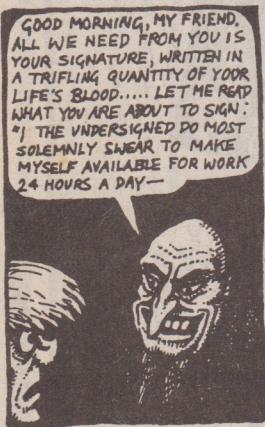
Same day, a nearby battery was broken open and 200 hens freed from their cages and a ferret breeder at Ringwood was mobbed until demonstrators were driven off by the shotgun-wielding owner.

JOHN LEWIS

John Lewis have dropped their threats to sue the National Anti-Hunt Campaign's Neil Hansen for telling the truth about the 'contrary-free' wildlife they slaughter in the face of determined opposition. 150 demos have happened so far, including clowns releasing a "Don't shoot, party!" banner attached to helium balloons in their Newcastle store.

Donations to:

National Anti-Hunt Campaign, PO Box 66, Stevenage SG1 2TR



FASLANE MAY FACE EVICTION

The new Tory council want to evict Faslane Peace Camp despite it being outside Scotland's nuclear sub base for a decade and 1/2, so they can develop the land. Peace campers are determined to resist and the cash-strapped council admit they can't afford a protracted Manchester Airport-style eviction. Get up there and support 'em!

More info from:

Faslane Peace Camp, Shandon, Helensburgh, Dunbartonshire, Scotland G84 8HT (01436 820901)

ARMS FAIR

1,000+ blockaded two entrances to the 1st September 1997 arms fair at Farnborough, causing mile-long tailbacks. 200+ arrests. The local Tory MP said PKK Kurds who joined the demo should be deported.

MILLENIUM

Labour's Peter 'Ozymandius' Mandelson wants to recuperate the Millennium with a disposable plastic edifice packed full of VR BS built on a toxic waste dump in Greenwich. It'll all *only* cost £750m! Stop the diggers now -- they're on the tightest of deadlines!

SLAVE LABOUR?

Bristol Claimants Union reports: Bristol Friends of the Earth, 12 Puxton Street, Bristol BS6 (0117 942 0129) are the latest recruit to Project Work. This undermines genuine volunteers.

Complaints to:

Friends of the Earth, 26-28 Underwood Street, London N1 7JQ (0171 490 1555, fax: 0171 490 0881).

Join in via:

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